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SOME ACCOUNT OF EDWARD ELWALL AND HIS WRITINGS.

It is one of the proofs of the truth of Unitarianism, and its adaptation to the human mind, that it has in all periods found confessors and advocates, lay as well as clerical, of various ranks and attainments, who have by the force of their own understanding, and their unassisted scriptural studies, found the long-lost truth of the Unity of God.

The county of Stafford, although now it appears a soil not particularly favourable to Unitarianism, has in past time exhibited some remarkable instances of its indigenous growth. Here it was, in the city of Lichfield, in the year 1612, that the last Unitarian martyr suffered at the stake in the person of Edward Wightman. Later on in the same century, when John Biddle was the mark for "orthodox" persecution, a magistrate residing in this county (it is to be regretted that his name and dwelling-place are unknown) visited and comforted the righteous prisoner, afterwards assisted in procuring his enlargement, and not only became security for his appearance whenever he might be called upon, but gave him a temporary home at his seat in the country, made him his chaplain, and procured him admission to a parish church in his neighbourhood. In the following century, Edward Elwall, concerning whom we now design to collect the known facts, bore his testimony to, and suffered persecution for, Unitarianism in this county. We may add, that in the mastership of the grammar-school of Wolverhampton, Dr. William Robertson, after quitting valuable church preferment, found a humble asylum. He it was whom Theophilus Lindsey styled the "father of Unitarian Nonconformity" in his day, and whose example, he said, was "a secret reproach" to himself, after he heard of it, so long as he continued at Catterick.

Edward Elwall has been the subject of a short biography by Dr. Toulmin,* and has been alluded to more or less particularly by John Byrom,† of Manchester, Mr. Lindsey,‡ Dr. Johnson§ and Dr. Priestley.‖ His own writings, which are now exceed-

* Universal Theological Magazine, I. 283.

† Remains of John Byrom (just published by the Chetham Society), I. 321—323.

‡ Sequel to Apology, 11—17.

§ Boswell's Life of Johnson, VIII. 195, 294; Murray's edit., 1835.

‖ Three Tracts (Unitarian Tracts), 1791.

ingly scarce, contain scattered biographical notices. We presume that our readers will not unwillingly accept an attempt to combine in one article all that is known concerning this humble but honest man.

Edward Elwall was a native of Sedgeley, near Wolverhampton. His ancestors, he was accustomed to say, had lived in that district above eleven hundred years. He appears to have been a general shopkeeper at Wolverhampton, being sometimes described as a mercer and grocer, by Dr. Johnson as an ironmonger, and Byrom mentions "Russia cloth" as part of his stock. He appears to have frequented, in the course of his business, the public fairs of Bristol and Chester, which were, until our own times, much resorted to by shopkeepers twice a year for procuring a supply of leather, flannel and other goods. As a tradesman he had been successful, and, notwithstanding an early marriage and a large family, his property increased, and he invested a portion of it in building eighteen houses which once bore the name of Elwall's Buildings.

He appears to have once belonged to the Presbyterian congregation of Wolverhampton, which in the early part of the 18th century was under the charge of Rev. J. Stubbs. He imbibed in early life the tolerant and liberal principles which characterized the Protestant Dissenters. When, in 1715, a large part of England was disturbed by the religious struggle between High-church intolerance and religious liberty, the county of Stafford was especially convulsed.* The mob of Wolverhampton was unruly and savage. The Presbyterian meeting-house was attacked, and the houses of private individuals were threatened. On one occasion he was, with the assistance of a few others, the means of protecting the meeting-house from destruction and driving away a furious mob. His life was more than once in danger. Once he was fired at as he rode down Bilston Street. In one of his eccentric pamphlets, addressing the King, George I., he writes,

"Now therefore, O King, hearken to my words, I beseech thee, and don't take any thing amiss that I have wrote unto thee; for I sincerely loved thee, and suffered for the sake of thy Royal Family, during the time of the rebellious mobs in *Staffordshire;* where they often, yea very

* Lord Mahon's description is very pertinent: "Riots and outrages were increasing in several parts of the country. Staffordshire above all, a county long remarkable for its Tory politics, was the scene of disturbance. 'High Church and Ormond for ever!' was the cry. The mob, inflamed with zeal for their ecclesiastical establishment, and persuaded that its security would be very much promoted by pulling down Dissenters' meeting-houses, assembled in great numbers for that object. Many buildings were destroyed, and many sectarians insulted. Against such proceedings it was thought requisite to point a sharper law, and recourse was had to the Riot Act, a statute passed in the reign of Mary and limited to the Queen's life, and in like manner enacted by Elizabeth, but never since revived. It was now made perpetual, and with increased powers." I. 196.

often, threatened to kill me; and once came about three score of 'em, bidding ——— their blood, and sink their spirits, if they did not pull down my house before they slept; and my wife was then so big with child, she did not know that she had an hour to go of her time; yet those inhuman wretches continued roaring, Down with the house, a long time, till at the last, by the entreaties of some neighbours, and throwing some money to 'em out at the windows, they marched away to spend the money; but before they went, some of 'em, to spite me and my wife, kneeled down on the step of my door, and drank the Pretender's health, by the name of King *James* the Third.

"Now all this hatred they bore to me, was not for any harm I ever did to any of them; for I have relieved some of 'em several times, both before and since; but it was for the firm affection which they knew I bore to thy Royal Father, to thee and thy Royal Family, and because I had at the Coffee House or Town Meetings defended the right our nation had to settle the succession of the Crown in thy illustrious Family."

Elsewhere he writes:

"I may truly say, that I have borne the heat and brunt of the day; and for all the manifold dangers the good God of Heaven hath carried me through, I desire to adore and bless his holy name for ever."

Again:

"I believe I may truly say, we never had a King upon the throne—no, not the glorious William himself—that ever had more regard to the religious liberties of his subjects, than this present King has: Not only so, but there seems to be a principle written in his heart, that all his subjects should have perfect liberty to serve, believe in and worship God, in that way they are persuaded in their own conscience pleases Him best."

Elwall was only 22 years of age when he married. The offspring of this marriage were seven sons and seven daughters. His wife was a Presbyterian, and continued, after her husband had ceased to do so, to attend the Presbyterian meeting-house. He appears first of all to have become a Baptist, and with his wife underwent the distinguishing rite of that sect in the river Severn. He was a man of a serious and inquisitive turn, not gifted indeed with learning of any kind, or with remarkable powers of thinking or writing. A fellow-townsman, of the name of John Hays, with whom he was wont sometimes to discourse, first aroused his suspicion of the unscriptural character of the doctrine of the Trinity. Many years before he publicly avowed his opinion, he was convinced by the words of Jesus recorded in John xvii. 3 *(This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent)*, that the Trinity was not a doctrine taught by Christ. Different dates are assigned to his first publication. Dr. Toulmin fixes as early a date as 1714 or 1716, but this is probably a mistake. Dr. Priestley, more correctly we believe, states that the work bears date in the dedication, "the eighth day of the second month," Feb. 8, 1724. It was entitled, "A True Testimony for God

and for his Sacred Law; being an honest Defence of the First Commandment of God, against all the Trinitarians under Heaven, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me.*"

Elwall was a close scripturalist, but he had scarcely learnt to rise above the letter and reach the true spirit of God's word. He confounded Judaism and Christianity, and lost sight of the freer genius of the Christian system by confounding it with the earlier and less perfect dispensation. The truths which were common to both dispensations, such as the strict Unity of God, he apprehended with great strength of conviction. His narrow system of interpretation made him to the very letter a Sabbatarian. With equal honesty and fearlessness, he avowed and acted upon his singular opinion, and, keeping Saturday as the true and enjoined Sabbath, he opened his shop and followed, as far as he could, his secular calling on Sunday. He appears also to have cultivated his beard, and wore the appearance of a Jewish rabbi. Dr. Johnson adds, that he held that everything in the Old Testament that was not typical was to be of perpetual observance, and so he wore a riband in the plaits of his coat. The Doctor thought that Elwall was actuated simply by the desire of making himself famous by being the founder of a new sect, and, without any authority from Elwall's writings, alleges that he wished the sect to be called *Elwallians.* With his habitual intolerance of religious dissent, the Doctor thought that Elwall "should be put in the stocks,—a proper pulpit for him." Had this been his fate, he would have doubtless borne the indignity with patience, and continued to bear his testimony to what he thought was truth. How he bore lesser social persecutions, he himself has described:

"Though for my keeping them" (the Ten Commandments), "and following the Patriarchs and Prophets, and Christ and his Apostles, in wearing my beard and my own hair, in obedience to God, as they did, I am made a sign and a wonder in the earth, and have been a thousand times mocked and scorned at by the scoffing Ishmaelites of this age, because I regard not their fopperies and fashions, having been taught of God, by his Prophet Jeremiah, *not to mind the way of the Heathen, for the customs of the people are vain;* yet am I little concerned at their revilings, having an eye to the hope that is set before me; I despise the world's flatteries and contemn its scorns, even as the worthies of old did; yea, though I am made a gazing-stock, and hated more than any man, being loaded with the most bitter curses, opprobrious names and malicious words; often throwing stones and other things after me, and crying, —— him, stop him, a Jew, a Turk, the Devil, cut off his beard, &c. Yet the Lord hath so ordered it in mercy to me, that abundance of virtuous men and women, of all denominations, sincerely love me, and earnestly solicit and desire my company; so that I think I may truly say, no man is better beloved nor more hated; which often brings to my mind the words of my dear Lord, *Marvel not if the world hate you; it hated me before it hated you.*"

It is not surprising that he was misunderstood by the common people of Wolverhampton, and that his sabbatical practice and his beard gained for him the style of the *Jew Elwall.* His published opinions on the subject of the Divine Unity procured him enemies less forgiving than the common people. The clergy viewed his opinions and conduct with bitter dislike. In his singular address to the King, published about 1736, he draws a contrast between the tolerance of soldiers and clergymen, in these words:

"Now if I should be disposed to fear either the Black-coats or the Red-coats, I confess it would be the former much more than the latter; for the latter many of 'em have in some measure learn'd that good and admirable doctrine and precept of that truly honest and religious man, John the Baptist, viz., *Do violence to no man, and be content with your wages.*

"But the former have done quite the reverse by me, and by many others besides me; for they have caused my books to be seized,* which are my right and my property, and have caused me to be taken out of my shop and from my business, and led me before magistrates, in order that I might be sent to prison; but the magistrate had more humanity than they had, and would not commit me to prison."

By the influence of the clergy, an indictment for Blasphemy was presented against him at the summer assizes in 1726. Of the proceedings which took place at his trial, he himself gave some account in "The Grand Question in Religion considered." Although in some particulars sufficiently minute, this narrative is in many important points confused and defective. Mr. Croker contemptuously calls it "rather the rambling declamation of an enthusiast, than the account of a trial." Putting together all the circumstances related by himself, it would appear that, at the preliminary proceedings before the magistrates, he had been bailed, and that at the assizes a true bill was found against him. He was most fortunate in his Judge, Mr. Justice Denton,† who, brought up in the mild principles of the Revolution of 1688, was willing to administer the laws of his country with a due

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* This circumstance, to which he refers more than once, perhaps explains the great scarcity of the first edition of Elwall's "True Testimony for God." Dr. Priestley took great pains to obtain the first editions of Elwall's tracts, in order to settle the date of his trial, but found it difficult to gratify his curiosity.

† Of this mild and tolerant administrator of justice, we know less than we desire. He belonged to a highly respectable Buckinghamshire family, the principal branch of which was seated at Hillersden. The politics of the family were liberal, and soon after the Revolution, viz., May 22, 1699, the head of the Hillersden house was created a Baronet. Alexander Denton, afterwards the Judge, represented the town of Buckingham in the first five Parliaments elected after the Revolution. He was made Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, June 25, 1722. He also held the office of Chancellor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., and died March 22, 1740. We should like to know whether he were of the same family with the clergyman who was the intimate friend of Archbishop Tillotson, and who, besides other preferment in Yorkshire, was a prebend of York.

regard to the rights of private judgment. Whether the case of Elwall was actually submitted to a jury, appears somewhat doubtful. Dr. Priestley evidently thought it was, for he speaks of his being acquitted by "a reputable and honest jury, directed by a good-natured and sensible Judge." But in a subsequent edition of the tract, Dr. Priestley added this interesting statement by a contemporary of the accused, Mr. John Martin, of Skilt's Park, between Birmingham and Alcester, who was present at the trial, and who in his 84th year detailed his reminiscences to the Dr.:

"The reputation of the trial drew many persons to hear it, and himself among the rest. * * * The trial was in the morning, and the figure of Mr. Elwall, who was a tall man, with white hair, a large beard and flowing garments, struck everybody with respect. He spoke about an hour with great gravity, fluency and presence of mind, but what is printed is the substance of what he said. The Judge gave the most obliging attention to him; and the confusion of the clergy, when he paused and waited for their answer, as mentioned in the trial, was very visible. During the trial, Mr. Martin says he was struck with the resemblance of it to that of Paul. *He does not recollect that the jury brought in a verdict*, but the Judge said he was at liberty to go where he pleased. It is possible that the trial might not come to a regular determination, on account of Mr. Elwall not having had a copy of the indictment, as mentioned in this account."

Now as neither Mr. Elwall nor his friend Mr. Martin makes any mention of the examination of witnesses, of the speeches of counsel, of the charge to the jury, or of their deliberation and verdict, it is probable that the Judge interposed his authority to prevent an inconvenient trial, in which, if the evidence required by law had been adduced, he would have been compelled to punish with great severity a very simple and worthy man, who, if he had committed any offence at all, had done so under the influence of strong religious convictions. According to the story told John Byrom by Elwall's wife, "she wrote at the time of the trial to Lord Lechmere, and he wrote to the Judge to favour Elwall." This statement is by no means improbable as regards those times, however incongruous with our ideas of the impartiality of the Bench such a proceeding would be at the present day. Lord Lechmere had been only recently elevated to the Peerage, having raised himself by his talents to the highest official rank short of the Bench in the profession of the law. As a Member of Parliament, he had been a distinguished but impetuous upholder of religious liberty, and had been one of the managers of the ill-judged prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell. In addition, it may be mentioned, that while at the bar he had defended Mr. Whiston, and, to mark his sympathy with that persecuted man, refused to accept the fee of ten guineas which had been provided by Whiston's old friend and patron, the Duke of Newcastle. Whiston gratefully records in his Memoirs the valu-

able and cordial assistance he received from Mr. Lechmere. It was natural enough, if the opportunity offered, that application should be made to Lord Lechmere to befriend a man like Elwall, in whose person the principles of religious liberty were endangered. Having not long before filled the offices of Solicitor and Attorney-General, and having had an extensive legal experience, his opinion would have the more weight with a Judge but recently raised to the Bench.

The indictment, which Elwall describes as long, was read, and he was called upon to plead to it. He guilelessly admitted the authorship of the book, the publication of which formed the gist of the charge against him, but denied that he was consciously guilty of any evil in writing it. The Judge asked him if he had a copy of the indictment. Elwall told him he had not. The Judge said that he ought to have had a copy of it. The simple-minded man who was accused thought that this remark was addressed to his clerical prosecutors. It was doubtless intended for the counsel or attorney entrusted with the prosecution. This informality gave the Judge the opportunity of proposing that the trial should be deferred till the next assizes, provided that the accused would give bail and be bound to appear. Elwall bluntly refused to give bail or to let any one be bail for him, saying, "I have an innocent breast, and I have injured no man, and therefore I desire no other favour but that I may have liberty to plead to the indictment myself." The Judge found he had to deal with an honest enthusiast, and courteously gave him leave to speak his thoughts. Elwall took the opportunity, not of constructing a legal argument to shew why he should not be found guilty under the statute of 9th and 10th of William and Mary, which made the denial of the Trinity punishable on the first conviction with civil disability, and on the second conviction with imprisonment for three years, but of recapitulating the argument of his book, and shewing that both the Old Testament and the New, Patriarchs, Prophets and Jesus Christ himself, assert the strict unity of God, and make the Father the only true God. Warming with his argument, he exclaimed, "Since the lips of the blessed Jesus, which always spake the truth, say his Father is the only true God, who is he, and who are they, that dare to set up another, in contradiction to my blessed Lord, who says his Father is the *only true God?*"

Here Elwall paused to see if any of his clerical accusers would come forth and contend for their "orthodox" faith. When no one spoke, he concluded that their mouths were shut up by the power of God, and turning to the people in the court, warned them not to take their religious sentiments from men, but from God; not from prelates nor priests, but from the prophets and apostles. Then turning to the Judge, he told him that he was the more convinced of the truth of what he had said from the

words of his blessed Lord, who said, *Call no man Father here upon earth; for one is your Father, even God. And call no man Master; for one is your Master, even Christ.* Hence he again deduced the inference that in all things of a spiritual nature men ought to take their religion from God and his prophets and Christ and his apostles. Then resuming his Scripture argument for Unitarianism, he quoted 1 Cor. viii. 4—6, and told the court that here was a plain demonstration; for Paul affirms that there is but one God, and that one God is the Father. By these and similar arguments he shewed that his book contained only the plain truth, and was founded on God's own words, *Thou shalt have no other gods but me.*

As he proceeded in his unusual argument, he perceived that the court was with him, and that neither the Judge nor the Justices of the Peace liked the prosecution. They were aware, he thought, that "out of envy the priests had done it." He began, therefore, to descant on the odious nature of persecution, alleging "that it never came from Jesus Christ; that he and his followers were often persecuted themselves, but they never persecuted any." Then pointing attention to the persecutions which the Protestants were at that time enduring at Thorn, he shewed how the Papists first put down the schools where Protestant children were educated; then took away the places of their religious worship; then put them in prisons; next confiscated their estates; and last of all took away their lives. "Now," said he, "we can cry out loudly enough against this, and shew the inhumanity, cruelty and barbarity of it; but if we who call ourselves Protestants shall be found acting in the same spirit against others, the crime will be greater in us than in them, because we have attained to greater degrees of light than they." In conclusion, he solemnly declared that he had put his house in order, and made up his accounts with all men, as near as he could; that he owed no man anything; that he would pay nothing towards the costs of that prosecution; that whatever fine or imprisonment they might subject him to, he should be consoled with the consciousness of God's living presence with him, as he felt it that day.

When he had closed his speech, two of the Justices of the county bore testimony to his good character: one of them, named Rupert Humpatch, said he had been his next-door neighbour for three years. Mr. Justice Denton then said, "Mr. Elwall, I perceive you have studied this controversy very deeply; but have you ever consulted any of our reverend clergy and bishops*

* The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry at this time was Dr. Edward Chandler, a man of learning and moderation, not without a slight leaning towards the Latitudinarian school of English divines. It is somewhat strange that his influence did not prevent this persecution of Elwall. But it sometimes happens that Bishops, liberally inclined in their speculations, are so conscious of being

of the Church of England?" In reply, the accused, said he had consulted no less a Church authority than the Archbishop of Canterbury,* from whom he had received four letters, and to whom he had despatched six. This circumstance (which Mrs. Elwall confirmed in her conversation with Byrom), when told in the court at Stafford, excited no little surprise amongst the clergy. The Judge asked whether the Archbishop had not been able to give him satisfaction? Mr. Elwall said, "Quite the reverse;" for in reply to arguments founded on Scripture, the Archbishop referred his correspondent to Acts of Parliament and declarations of State. Mr. Justice Denton, having stood nearly an hour and a quarter, now sat down, remarking, "Well, if his Grace of Canterbury was not able to give you satisfaction, Mr. Elwall, I believe I shall not." After this the Judge held a conversation with the clergy who were in court, and talked softly to them. Again he undertook the office of mediator between them and the accused, and addressing himself to the latter, said, "Mr. Elwall, you cannot but be sensible that what you have written, being contrary to the commonly-received doctrines of the Church, cannot but have given offence to some of your neighbours, and particularly to the clergy. Are you willing to promise, before the face of the country here, that you will not write any more on this head?" Elwall honestly refused to give the required pledge, saying that when he wrote his book, he did it in the fear of God, and that if at any future time he found himself drawn forth to write in defence of any of God's commandments, he hoped he should do it with the same sincerity. He perceived that the Judge was not in any wise displeased at his honest, plain and bold answer; but rather his heart seemed to be knit in love to him. Presently after (we may suppose), arranging with the prosecutors the withdrawment of the accusation, he told Mr. Elwall he was free, and might quit the court when he pleased.

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suspected and watched by the clergy, that they cannot do what they would. Had the diocese been in 1726 in the hands of his successor, Dr. Smalbroke, who united the meanness with the malignity of a persecutor, there would have been nothing to surprise us in it.

* The Archbishop at this time was Dr. William Wake, an ecclesiastic of whom it is possible to give accounts diametrically opposed,—now moderate and discountenancing persecution, at another time intolerant and malignant. His courteous letter to Dr. Samuel Chandler, the Dissenting minister and bookseller, has been often mentioned in his praise. He declared himself, when the prosecution of Woolston was on foot, opposed to that and every religious prosecution. Yet in 1721, he had joined the Earl of Nottingham in preparing and bringing into Parliament a Bill for requiring a new test against Arianism. The Bill was rejected by the Lords, to the great satisfaction of Mr. Whiston, who called it an attempt to introduce a holy inquisition into the Church of England. For other instances of the inconsistencies of this Prelate, the reader is referred to Whiston's Autobiographical Memoirs, pp. 256–260. How a mitre dims the intellectual vision, the world has often seen. In respect to Archbishop Wake's correspondence with Mr. Elwall, however unsatisfactory to the latter, we may remark that his condescension in writing at all was, as the world goes, very commendable.

It was only twelve years previously, in the same court at Stafford, that Mr. Whiston heard the Judge (Baron Price) exhort the grand jury to present all such as blasphemed or condemned the Church's doctrine of the Trinity.* Had the assize of 1826 been inaugurated with a similar charge, Mr. Elwall's conviction would have probably been the result. Dr. Priestley thus speaks of Elwall's conduct in the Stafford court: "Such firmness in the cause of truth, and such presence of mind in asserting and vindicating it, as appear in this trial, are truly apostolical, and have had but few examples since the first promulgation of Christianity." Under the impression of this feeling, he first, while at Leeds, reprinted that part of Elwall's "Grand Question in Religion" which contains the account of the prosecution, and circulated it as a cheap tract, especially amongst the Methodists of that town.

No part of Elwall's narrative is more affecting than that which describes his conduct on his deliverance:

"So I went away through a very great crowd of people (for it was thought there were a thousand people at the trial), and having spoken long, I was athirst, so went to a well and drank. Then I went out of town by a river side, and looking about and seeing no one near, I kneeled down on the bank of the river, and sent up my thank-offering to that good God who had delivered me out of their hands."

Later on in the day, Elwall tells us with great simplicity how magistrates and others pressed their congratulations and civilities on him; how he was invited into a large party of gentlemen, all pleased with the result of his trial, except one clergyman, an angry Doctor in Divinity, who said Elwall "ought to be hanged." Escaping with difficulty from the civilities of strangers, he hastened home to his joyful family, who had learnt the particulars of his escape from a juryman who had gone from the court early in the day.

What were deemed Elwall's errors were attacked through the press by more than one opponent. A fellow-townsmen, whom Dr. Johnson calls a miller, by name Barter, attempted to answer "The True Testimony." Elwall, in 1726, published a rejoinder, entitled "Dagon Fallen, a Defence of the First Commandment of God, in answer to James Barter's Book," 1726, 12mo. Barter's book we have never met with, and the copy of "Dagon Fallen before the Ark of God," now before us as an appendix to another of Elwall's books published in 1734, is stripped of all references to the Wolverhampton miller and his arguments. Another oppo-

* The Baron explained afterwards that he meant nothing, "that it was only his usual form." Nothing can extenuate such paltering with truth and principle. It does not diminish his fault that he, on the occasion of Mr. Whiston's prosecution, shewed that he understood what was due to truth and conscience, and, resisting Bishop Trelawney's anxiety to extort a conviction from the delegates, said, "My Lord, I will not take heresy upon my shoulders nor upon my conscience."

nent, of the name of Taylor, who published his pamphlet in Bristol in 1742, appears to have regarded Elwall as a theological Goliah, if we may judge from the title of his work: "A Sling and a Stone, being a Defence of the Trinity, against E. Elwall, the Arian Jewish Sabbatarian." What sort of a David, Taylor proved in the combat we know not, never having met with his work. Of a different opponent from these we shall speak presently.

It was early in the year 1729, that the house of Elwall was visited by John Byrom, of Manchester, who, notwithstanding very definite and somewhat lofty opinions in both theology and politics, the former tending to the system of the Non-jurors, and the latter to the policy of the Jacobites, took considerable interest in the notions and practices of the heresiarchs of his day. Unfortunately, he did not find the good man at home; but he had much conversation with his wife and other members of the family, who appear to have been sufficiently communicative, considering that they were talking to an entire stranger. They did not share Elwall's opinions and practices, the wife being still a Presbyterian, and the son, who bore the singular Puritanic name of *Sion*, being an attendant at church. He also saw a daughter called Lydia, whom he describes as "an intolerable talking girl." They told him of an elder daughter who was married to a Mr. Street, of the Temple, and of another daughter married to Mr. Clarke, a London shopkeeper. Mrs. Elwall told him that "a philosophical meeting, as she called it, a club of gentlemen who called themselves Seekers, who met at the Black Bull, in Wood Street, desired Elwall's company; that they were Deists, who called themselves by that name, and would have had her husband to be one of them; that one Markham was the head of their meeting." The daughter told him that Mr. Pits* was the chief man of this Deists' club. She shewed Byrom a cap or turban that her father had made from Josephus, and intended to wear instead of a hat, and another that he would ride in. Sion Elwall supped with Byrom, and "talked about Muscovy, not much about his father; a sensible young fellow

* Byrom appears subsequently to have made the acquaintance of Mr. Pits; for in his diary, under the date Sunday, January 3, 1731, we read, "Had much talk with Strut, Pits, &c., about Christianity, which I defended as well as I could, Pits talking in favour of reason, by which only we could find out whether God was God; I said reason was the gift of this very God, and therefore we could hardly find him out to be not God by it, since he could not be supposed to give it us for that purpose, that something must be taken for granted, that I believed that God was God. I exhorted Strut to lay aside a little vanity, and embrace Christianity; he was for necessity and I for free-will. There were twelve of us in all; Gerhard, White, &c. I promised to go see Strut, who said if I could make him believe a future state, I should do him the greatest favour. They seemed to whisper about me when I came to them, but were very civil, and desired I would favour them with my company. Sit anima mea cum Christianis."

enough, but did not seem very forward to vindicate his father's notions, but only believed him to be conscientious." From a baker's wife who sold James Barter's books, Byrom learnt that Elwall was declining in his business. It is probable that the clerical spirit was in the end too strong for him in Staffordshire. After a time, he saw reason to remove to London. In 1734, he lived at Ely Court, Holborn. After this period little is known concerning his personal history, beyond what the title-pages of his successive publications tell. He united himself to the society of Sabbatarian Baptists who met for worship on the seventh day at Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields. He put out several defences of his Sabbatarian principles, viz., "The Case of the Seventh-day Sabbath-keepers considered, as intended to be laid before the Parliament, that all such may have the Liberty to work Six Days at their honest Vocation, and rest the Seventh Day, according to the Commandment of God." He vindicated both his Unitarian and Sabbatarian principles in a tract entitled, "The Vanity and Improbability of expecting that any Good Jews should ever be brought over to the pretended Christian Religion, as it is now professed by all the Established Churches in Europe, shewing that Christianity was quite the Reverse to what is called by that Name at this Day."

In 1737, there appeared from the pen of Mr. Thomas Chubb, "A Letter to Mr. Elwall concerning the Time for keeping a Sabbath, offered to the Consideration of the Sabbatarians." To this Mr. Elwall replied in "An Answer to the Dissertation of my beloved Brother, Thomas Chubb, concerning the Time for keeping a Sabbath," &c. On both sides, the subject is discussed earnestly, but with mutual respect and kindness. Elwall received from America some proofs of the acceptableness of his arguments to other minds, and printed in his address to Mr. Chubb a letter from Philadelphia, and the substance of another from Rhode Island, detailing the diffusion of Sabbatarian principles. He published a defence of religious freedom and the spirituality of religion in a work entitled, "A Declaration against all the Kings and Temporal Powers under Heaven, shewing that they have no Authority over their Subjects in Spiritual Things," &c. It was from this pamphlet that Dr. Johnson rehearsed and misquoted a passage for the amusement of Boswell. The passage is of itself sufficiently ludicrous. After a general challenge to kings and temporal powers to prove their authority over their subjects in spiritual matters, he proceeds thus:

"And now, George, King of Great Britain and Ireland, I challenge thee out into James's Park; name the day, hour and place, as thou thyself pleasest; but don't bring thy ugly carnal sword with thee, but only such pure spiritual weapons as I do promise thee, if well, to bring with me, and that is scripture and reason; and no other but these, and these two only. Whether the former be the words of God or not, I leave

every man to judge; and as to the latter, I believe every wise and good man will agree with me, that *the Voice of Reason is the Voice of God*, and therefore most fit and glorious weapons for us to manage our spiritual fight and warfare withal.

"If thou fearest to meet such an old-fashioned man as I am, thyself alone, or rather fearest thy cause, that it will not bear the test of Scripture and Reason, then bring two or three, or twenty or thirty, or twenty thousand or thirty thousand, of the Black-coats along with thee.

"Or if thou mistrustest my bringing any carnal weapons with me, besides the afore-mentioned ones, then bring as many of thy Red-coats with thee as will surround the Park, if thou pleasest."

Dr. Johnson, in talking of this singular address to the King, alters "Black-coats" into "Black-guards," and "Red-coats" into "Red-guards," and added, "The letter had something of the impudence of Junius to our present King. But the men of Wolverhampton were not so inflammable as the common council of London; so Mr. Elwall failed in his scheme of making himself a man of great consequence." The Dr. erred in supposing that this appeal was specially designed to rouse the men of Wolverhampton, among whom its author had then ceased to reside. As to general reputation, Elwall was indifferent to it, compared with his zeal for promoting Scripture truth; but he had acquired a tolerably extensive reputation, and the repeated editions of his tracts shewed that many were eager to know what his opinions were. Nor was his reputation confined to England. We have already mentioned his influence in America, and we have before us, at the time of writing, a translation into the French language of one of his books. Before more particularly describing this rare little volume, it is necessary to say a word or two on Elwall's relation with the Quakers. His individuality and high moral courage prevented his entire alliance with any sect. The Sabbatarian church of Goodman's Fields he recognized as that with which he habitually worshiped. It is a mistake to suppose that he ever formally united himself to the Quakers. For this body he felt and repeatedly expressed a very high regard. He adopted their mode of describing the progress of time, he sometimes attended their preaching, and sometimes addressed them. But he again and again rebuked them for their non-adoption of Sabbatarian views. Both Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey appear to have regarded him as a Quaker towards the close of life; but Dr. Toulmin, who had some information from Mr. Daniel Noble (who became the minister of Elwall's Sabbatarian church soon after his decease), distinctly says that this was a mistake.*

* Though a lover of peace and quietness, friend Elwall was not an observer of non-resistance principles, but could, when occasion required, vigorously defend himself. This appears from an amusing passage in one of his pamphlets: "I have been a sturdy and strenuous friend to my Royal Friend George these forty years and upwards, ever since the nation happily settled the crown in his

The French book to which we have referred bears this title: "Sermon prêché dans la Grande Assemblée des Quakers, de Londres, par le fameux Frère E. Elwall, dit l'inspiré. Traduit de l'Anglois. A Londres, 1737." It is a duodecimo volume, handsomely printed; and has an allegorical print representing a female figure, whose head is encircled with a nimbus brought by Time to Truth, who stands with sword and scales in front of a tottering figure of the Papal power, mounted on a pedestal, on which is inscribed, "Simulacrum Anti-christi." In his left hand, the Pope holds an open book, "Modus Propagandi Fidem;" in his right, an axe, a chain, and a cord or thong. Ignorance, blind-folded, holding up the Talmud and the Koran, and Superstition, with an image of a saint in one hand and an incense censer in the other, are represented as flying away, Ignorance taking hold of the dress of Superstition. On the first page, the English title is given thus—"The Religion of the Gospel is the True, Original Religion of Reason and Nature." The scope of the sermon is to shew that a state of nature is a state of innocence; that in consequence of mankind having departed from this state, Jesus Christ was sent on earth to re-establish the laws of nature. The concluding paragraph would seem to shew that Elwall believed in special gifts of the Spirit, and believed that he taught under inspiration. He finally urges his Christian brothers and sisters to banish for ever from their hearts ambition, avarice, revenge and every other vice, in order that they might be justly called disciples of Jesus and true *Quakers (Friends?)*. Of this alleged sermon by Elwall, we have never seen or heard of a copy in English.

To return to Elwall's "Declaration," &c. It contains one fact worthy of notice. Continuing his address to George II., he reminds him of "a Letter which thy late Royal Father, King George, wrote in behalf of some persecuted Brethren of mine in Poland, the rulers of which country the spirit of the Lord was departed from, and an evil spirit, that is, a persecuting spirit from the Devil, troubled them; and in order to lay or remove that evil spirit, the brave and Royal George wrote to his brother the King of Poland. The substance of this Royal Letter is an honest, open Testimony from a King, against all the Kings under Heaven that violate Liberty."

In the year 1736, London and some of the provinces were disgraced by a series of dangerous riots. Elwall, as the friend of peace, order and good-will, felt himself "drawn forth to write a Declaration for all the Kings and Temporal Powers under Heaven, shewing that they have a Lawful Authority over their Subjects in Temporal Things; and that neither Papists, Episco-

illustrious family; and many a stately Jacobite and Tory have I silenced by dint of argument, and brought to the ground by dint of fist, yet generally in self-defence, and not to convince his judgment."

palians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers nor Sabbath-keepers, ought to oppose or resist them, or any Magistrates acting under them, in the Lawful Execution of their Office."* After a few pages in behalf of peace and the constituted authorities, he slides as of necessity into his favourite topics of spiritual liberty and scripture truth, and repeats his challenge to the King to discuss these matters with him, but varies the challenge by naming the Duke of Argyle, Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Onslow and Admiral Wager, as the attendants of the King.

In 1738, he published "The True and Sure Way to remove Hirelings out of the Church, by freeing Mankind from the Forced Maintenance of Priests, and thereby restoring Christianity to its Primitive Purity and Liberty, that every Man may give to whom he approves, and what he thinks fit, without any Force in Matters of Religion." This is not a censure of what are sometimes contemptuously called "hired ministers," but of forcing men to pay for religious services which they do not attend. At the same time he published his answer to Chubb, and some remarks on another opponent on the Sabbath-day question, of the name of Daniel Dobel. In the last-named work, Elwall quotes with high praise some of the arguments in favour of Unitarianism by Philip Gibbs, who had just before been dismissed by a Presbyterian congregation at Hackney on account of his opinions. Elwall styles Gibbs his "well-beloved son or brother," and says that his honest, upright, sincere obedience had filled his heart with unspeakable comfort.

The next publication of his, of which we find any notice, was entitled, "The Supernatural Incarnation of Jesus Christ proved to be false, having no Foundation in the Prophets, nor in all the Old Testament, and utterly inconsistent with his being the Son of David; but the main Prop and Support of all the absurd Doctrines both of Papists and Protestants, to the great Scandal and Reproach of the true Christian Religion; and that our Lord Jesus Christ was the real Son of Joseph and Mary." Of this work we have not succeeded in obtaining a copy. Dr. Toulmin gives this account of it:

"The arguments alleged by Mr. Elwall against the miraculous conception are, that the first of all Christians, who were called the Nazarenes, and it is likely knew Joseph and Mary, both before and at the time of their marriage, never knew or believed it; that Mary, the best and only witness in such a case, expressly and publicly calls Joseph his, i. e. Jesus', *father;* then Joseph, with the most natural and genuine feelings, shewed the affection of a father to the child Jesus when he was

* Of this pamphlet there is a copy in Dr. Williams's Library. One at least of the tracts bound in the volume which contains it, viz., "The Grand Question in Religion," appears to have belonged to Elwall himself; for at p. 51, where the narrative of the Stafford business begins, it has inscribed on the margin, "My Tryal at Stafford assizes before Judge Denton."

missing on his return from the feast of the Passover; as it is attested by Mary, 'Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing,'—a language expressive of the same natural parental love from the father as from the mother; that if Jesus had not been the real son of Joseph, he could not have been brought into his line, nor had any just right or natural claim to be the son of David, nor have been lineally descended from him; for the Jews never drew their genealogies from women, but from men; * * * that the two first chapters of Matthew's Gospel, from whence Luke might take the story of the miraculous conception, have been rejected by many learned, wise and judicious men, as not originally belonging to Matthew's Gospel, but foisted in long after it was written; and that Mark, his epitomiser, who agrees with him in many things, had not one word of this incarnation."

Dr. Toulmin quoted some passages from this remarkable book, which appears to have been one of the best specimens of Elwall's argumentative powers. One passage assists us to an approximation to his age.

"God knoweth," says Elwall, towards the close of the work, "who hath access to all the secrets of my heart, that I aim at nothing but truth, and have no sinister ends nor views; but to give glory to that good God that gave me my breath, and in whose hand my frail life is, and before whom I both expect and hope to appear in a few years or months or days (I being now 66 years old), just as it pleaseth Him, trusting in his mercy, goodness and wisdom, who, I am sure, will distinguish between him that serveth the Lord and him that serveth Him not."

The second edition of this work is dated 1743. If this passage were penned the year before, it would fix Elwall's birth in the year 1676. This would make him fifty years of age at the time of his trial.

The last work published by Elwall, with which we are acquainted, appeared in 1744. It exhibits him in the light of a somewhat stern reprover of the false doctrine professed by the mass of the Christian world, and is entitled, "Idolatry discovered and detected, shewing that almost all the pretended Christians, Greeks, Papists, and Protestants (except the Unitarians), are guilty of it, by worshiping a mortal Man as the Most High God, directly contrary to the express Words of the Holy Prophet, Jesus of Nazareth, Matt. iv. 10, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve;* with a plain honest Defence of the Sacred Ten Commandments of God, and the Hypocrisy, Deceit and Rebellion of all that live in open Violation of them. With an Account of the Author's Trial."

The course of this blunt but honest man was now nearly run. He died in London in 1745, being probably in his 70th year. To the last, his reputation was unsullied. For twenty years his influence, instead of being diminished, had been greatly increased by the attempt of religious bigotry to put him down. He was well known to many public and some distinguished men, who par-

doned his uncourtly phrases in consideration of his integrity and patriotism. He is also said to have been habitually charitable and generous.

There may be Unitarians of the present day too fastidious in their tastes and too narrow in their creed to be prepared to welcome into the rank of Unitarian advocates a writer occasionally so blunt, eccentric and even grotesque as Edward Elwall; but, for our own part, we are not ashamed to follow men like Lindsey, Priestley and Toulmin, in admiring his general good sense, his sterling honesty in avowing what he believed to be revealed truth, and the beautiful consistency of his whole life. Notwithstanding all his errors and extravagances of opinion, we believe that he was such a disciple as Jesus will welcome into the kingdom of his Father in heaven.

ESSAY ON ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE AS ADAPTED TO THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.

[We now give the last of the series of Essays on this subject which we propose to print. Having indicated our impartiality by this step, we desire the subject should now be closed. The cordial thanks of the Unitarian body are due to the Committee at Liverpool, whose judgment and liberality gave birth to these interesting Essays.—Ed. C. R.]

"We are not of the night, nor of darkness." 1 Thess. v. 5.

"Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," the head conceiveth, and the hand worketh. Everywhere, and in every age, the architectural forms in which men have erected buildings for their religious worship have been stamped with the characteristics of their religious creed.

On a general view of Temple architecture throughout the world, *this* idea, also, very strikingly presents itself,—that from the ponderous Egyptian to the airy Gothic there has been gradual but constant progress from *darkness* into *light*.

The gloomy and mysterious worship of Isis and Osiris was fitly hidden in the heavy, sunless colonnades of granite whose sombre ruins still crowd the valley of the Nile. The marvellous mythology of Greece, with its foul rites and secret saturnalia concealed under the beautiful conceptions of her poets, was worthily represented in her classic temples,—all grace and ornament without, though the darkness within was palpable and black as ever.

Christ appeared, and cast upon the Pagan world the first seeds of a purer faith. Then arose the Romanesque architecture, struggling to let some light into temples still fashioned chiefly after the Grecian models. Lastly came the Gothic, a new effort to cast off Pagan forms with Pagan thoughts, and assimilate the

building more nearly to the spirit of the new religion, which was the spirit of Light opposed to the spirit of Darkness. Still, as the light grew stronger in men's minds, this novel architecture advanced and developed from its first attempts, which were comparatively heavy and dark, to the graceful, airy, open forms which mark the later styles.

Since then there has been a pause in the development of architecture. Throughout the nations, the religious spirit has been slumbering in one of those long dreamy nights which precede the dawning of a glorious day; and the strange, uncouth and tasteless temples which have been erected in these ages, indicate clearly enough the unsettled and transition state of the religious creeds.

That day is breaking! Let the innermost recesses of the sanctuary be flooded with the morning light! The simple Christian faith which knows but "one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;" that noble and inspiring truth which the Unitarian church has for centuries been charged to keep, has well nigh accomplished the years of its warfare and persecution, and shall rise upon the world, ere long, the sun and centre of that coming day! The spirit of this faith is pure, unstinted Light. It has no fellowship with darkness. It asks not that, under shadowy arches and dim cloistral aisles, we should tremble at the terrors of the grave, but lures us forth, under the free, bright sky, to worship God with gladness.

At this particular crisis there has arisen a style of architecture in perfect consonance with the religion of light and joy; a style which shall in after times be called emphatically the Christian architecture.

Let us accept this beautiful invention. Let us cast aside the cumbrous stone, with all its dark associations of ignorance and fear, and build our temples henceforth of imperishable iron and ethereal glass.

These materials are already associated in the highest degree with the ideas of progress and aspiration, and their marvellous capabilities have been tested in the erection of the noblest and most beautiful Palace which the world has seen.

Christ loved best to preach and pray upon the broad hill-side, with no canopy between him and heaven. Our northern climate makes this only possible at uncertain seasons; but we can approach to it by assembling under a crystal roof, where the full daylight may arouse our hearts to praise, or the soft shadow of the passing cloud melt them to tenderness.

I do not think that any of the ancient styles of architecture accord in spirit with the Unitarian faith. Among the creeds of Christendom, ours stands isolated and alone. We can scarcely be regarded as a sect, we have so little in common with the

Trinitarian churches. In the spirit of our creed we differ from them essentially. And though it is perhaps wise to seek out and give all possible prominence to those points in which we all accord, to ignore the fact of that essential difference is to hide a simple truth which will come to light in spite of us.

This difference in spirit demands a corresponding difference in architecture. Perhaps nothing could be better adapted to the spirit of the Anglican Church than the lighter styles of Gothic building; but for us they are too dark, too sensuous, too earthly.

We want grandeur without heaviness, beauty without ornament; and where are these conditions so perfectly fulfilled as in the Crystal Palace? Let it not be objected that in that noble building it is the vast size rather than the style which produces its grand and beautiful effects; these are scarcely less striking in the smaller transepts than in the nave itself. It is the high arched roof, the airy columns, the beautiful simplicity, the unbroken light, to which those marvellous effects are due; and when the capacities of the new materials have been thoroughly comprehended in the brains of our rising architects, we may anticipate such notable improvements even upon this first magnificent attempt, as shall render them as effective in smaller buildings as they are already proved to be upon the scale of a palace.

There are, of course, some practical questions which must be satisfactorily answered before we can venture to adopt this "modern English" architecture for our chapels. Would it not be too warm in summer, and too cold in winter? Would not the light be dazzling and inconvenient to the eyes? Would it not be more costly than masonry of the ordinary description? The problem of warming and ventilation has been solved in our conservatories, and in the Crystal Palace itself. It is found quite possible to maintain any required temperature within reasonable limits; and in fact there could scarcely be a difficulty in making buildings of glass and iron at least as comfortable as our present chapels, most of which are anything but models in this respect.

The inconvenience of a dazzling blaze of light on sunny days would be remedied by the use of semi-transparent glass for the lower part, or perhaps the whole of the building. I think also that light drapery might be introduced with effect, in particular positions, for the same purpose.

It appears therefore reasonable to suppose that the physical comfort and convenience of a congregation could be in every way as well as provided for in a crystal building as in one of stone or brick. With respect to their comparative costliness, I think there can be no doubt that the advantage, if any, is on the side of glass and iron. On a rough calculation from data kindly furnished to me by Messrs. Fox, Henderson and Co., it

would appear that a building 100 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 50 feet high to the centre of the arched roof, "of uniform construction and somewhat similar in design to that of the Crystal Palace," might be erected with these materials at a cost of about £1500.* This would be as large a building as any chapel which we at present possess, and could not, I think, be erected of stone or brick for a less amount.

In the year 1848, before the genius of Sir Joseph Paxton had evolved the splendid vision of the first Crystal Palace, it fell to my lot to speak at a meeting of young men upon the question of the probability of any new style of architecture being ever introduced. Not being an architect by profession, I read "Hope's Essay" to refresh my knowledge of the subject, and the ingenious explanations which I there found of the causes of former changes in architectural styles, led me to look around to discover whether any such causes were at work at the present time. It immediately struck me that *cast iron* was a material the uses of which in architecture were only beginning to be felt, and that its further introduction would probably lead to as great a modification in the forms of building, as had been produced by the use of glass for windows 2000 years ago. I pointed at that time to the long low arches of our cast-iron bridges, and the peculiar roofings of our railway platforms, as examples of the change which was already taking place. I have lived to see this prediction verified in a manner which immeasurably exceeds my humble dreams. I am thankful that I have been permitted to look upon so glorious an object as the Crystal Palace, the interior of which is to my eye more grand, more beautiful, more inspiring to the religious heart, than anything which has been produced in stone cathedrals.

St. Paul's is but a mighty tomb. Dust and darkness are its habitants; the damps of Death hang gloomily from arch and pillar; Grief and Fear are the spirits that minister beneath its painted dome. It is not in such a place that we should meet to worship the Great Father of Light and Beauty and Love. Fear has its mission, doubtless, in subduing the untutored soul; yet, in our faith, its sphere is but a narrow one, and shall we suffer it to usurp the power and place of the all-conquering Love?

When our church assembles for its Sabbath worship, it is not to tremble in the presence of an angry Ruler,—not to propitiate with servile prayers a wrathful and offended God,—but rather to unchain the soul from all the weary, cumbering fetters of this earth; to lift it out from the dark prison of selfishness into the paradise of affection and sympathy; to inspire it with those noble thoughts, those generous aspirations, which stir the throb-

* By a foolish blunder, this amount was written £5500 in the essay as sent in to the Committee.

bing breast and bring the joy-tears to the eye; to raise it into communion, deep and holy, with the spirit of its Creator, and teach it to say with trustful reverence, "My Father and my God!"

Gloom and shadow and mystery are not the influences which bring the soul to God, as a child to its father's knee. The Unitarian church acknowledges this truth, and strikes out from its creed the spectre of a living devil, the crushing burden of original sin, the horrors of perpetual hell. It teaches man that he is a wandering child, and bids him listen to his Father's voice in the woods and on the hills; in the thundering sea and in the meadow brook; in the daily murmur of the city and in the silence of the starry night—a kind, persuasive voice, full of an immeasurable love! It seeks to bring him nearer to this gracious Father by lifting up, not by crushing down, his spirit; to wash the sin out of his soul with floods of heavenly light, rather than to scare it away by ghostly terrors.

I think the Unitarian faith, with its bright hopes, its simple doctrine, its glorious spirit of liberty and progress, has never found in architecture an adequate expression until now. But under the crystal arches of the People's Palace there reigns a beautiful serenity, a holy and inspiring light, which, if we could emulate it in our chapels, would worthily express the spirit of our faith, and incline to pure devotion the hearts of our assembled worshipers.

LET OUR LIGHT SHINE!

THE ANGEL OF DEATH.

NOVALIS.

WHEN in sad and painful hours
Despairing sinks the heart;
When disease our strength o'erpowers,
And pain racks every part;
When we think of the beloved one, bowed
By grief and anxious fear,
And all around seems gloom and cloud,
Without one hope to cheer;—

Then God himself bends o'er us;
We feel His love is nigh;
His Angel stands before us
When we lift our eyes on high:
The cup of heavenly life he bears,
He whispers strength and peace;
And not in vain are now our prayers,—
The loved one's tears may cease!

W.

THE BOOK OF JASHAR.*

On first perusing the earlier part of this work, we felt embarrassed at times by a feeling of *doubt* of a very unusual character,—a feeling which would obtrude itself, even in the face of much positive evidence tending to remove it. Could the author be *in earnest* in what he appears to say and to intend throughout the book; or might not the whole composition be a mere *jeu d'esprit*, a learned and elaborate *parody* on methods of literary criticism prevalent among our German friends, and which, we may suppose, Dr. Donaldson sees no better mode of exposing and refuting than by the kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of which his book may, according to this view, be taken as a notable specimen? Such was our doubt, supported by the remembrance that examples of this mode of refutation are not wanting in recent times. Among the writers against Strauss, they may be met with; while the little work of Archbishop Whately, "Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte," will be familiar to many of our readers. Is the present volume a work of this kind or not? Certainly one who chooses to regard it in this light need not be without reasons for so doing. In the first place, its composition in Latin and publication in Germany may be appealed to. The learned language and the foreign publication have been adopted, the author tells us, in order to secure readers competent to appreciate and pass sentence on the various weighty matters brought before them. Such persons were little to be looked for in our own country. The condition of Biblical Criticism and Hermeneutics among us at the present day, is such that few give themselves any trouble about them; still fewer are competent to the production of anything for the adornment or extension of these branches of learning. But among the Germans flourish the knowledge of the Hebrew language; every kind of nutriment for biblical science; an uncorrupted love of truth; and, finally, that genuine and fearless faith which invites candid discussion and dreads not the light of truth. Hence, therefore, our author sent his book over the sea, to enter on its public life in that land wherein it would find very many competent authorities and masters in the subjects of which it treats. (Præf. p. x.) Thus Dr. Donaldson makes his appeal to a German rather than to an English public—if the term *public* may be used of the small and select circle to which he evidently addresses himself. And truly its adaptation to the German mind, whether the book be designed in jest or in earnest, will scarcely be denied by any one who reads it.

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* Jashar. Fragmenta Archetypa carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Vet. Test. Textu passim tessellata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, Commentario instruxit J. G. Donaldson, S. Th. Doc., &c. (8vo. London—Williams and Norgate. 1854.)

The mere fact of this appeal to German learning and faith would evidently, however, be far from enough to warrant us in regarding the work as an elaborate joke, or a satire on German methods of criticism, did we not find in the book itself matter directly suggestive of the same view. And such corroboration is not wanting. Some of the continental scholars, for example, it is well known, can, with the utmost nicety and confidence, detect the original documents fused together to form the Pentateuch. It is true, indeed, that these authorities differ most widely from each other in their results; but let that pass for the present, as it does not concern us here. The present writer, while differing from all his predecessors as greatly as they from each other, has yet as sharp an eye for a fine distinction as any of them; and can, with equal confidence, recognize and collect together the scattered members of the book of Jashar, be they ever so minute or disguised, not only in the Pentateuch, but in nearly all the earlier books of the Old Testament, down even to the prophet Micah. Nay, more than this. Has some old Hebrew writer appropriated some fragment of the dismembered book, and made it say something in its new connection very different from what it said as originally written?—by the ready magic of conjecture and emendation, Dr. Donaldson can restore such fragment to its primitive form and meaning. He can see that the account in Genesis, for instance, of Noah sending out from the ark the raven "which went forth to and fro," but brought back no report, is a portion of the book of Jashar, meant, in its original purport, to designate those timid and unenterprizing spies mentioned in the book of Numbers (ch. xiii.), whose evil report of what they had seen deterred the Israelites from entering the promised land. (P. 133.) He can, moreover, see that under the name *Noah*, really signifying *Rest* or *Peace*, was meant Solomon, in whose peaceful reign the true ark rested on the mountain, i.e. the Temple was built on Mount Zion. He can thus readily give us various little particulars of this interesting kind, not hitherto dreamt of by biblical scholars. The whole narrative to this effect may be reconstructed, by taking consecutively the following passages, viz., Gen. vi. 5—14, vii. 6, 11, 12, viii. 6—12, v. 29, viii. 4; 1 Kings vi. (sic), viii. 43; Deut. vi. 18; Ps. v. 8. Put together these passages, we say, or the substance of them, and forming out of them a consecutive narrative duly emended and interpreted on right principles, and you have really a description of the deliverance of Israel from the waves of Egyptian bondage, and of their final attainment of a haven of rest and a house of worship under Solomon. So stood these pieces in their original connection and signification in the book of Jashar. This portion of the book, thus reconstructed by the skill of our author, was, however, he candidly observes, "so defective (lacunosum) and corrupt, that conjecture had to be resorted to in every verse. But yet

(he adds) the sense at least, if not the words, I believe I have restored." (At sensum, si non verba, mihi restituisse videor, p. 134, note.)

It is evident, then, that this volume offers us examples of much the same kind of critical acuteness which has been displayed by various German writers; and on this ground, as well as in consideration of such *restorations* as that just referred to in the case of Noah and the ark, we might feel ourselves authorized to say that the author must have intended simply to give us a parody on the methods of the German critics, or, to vary the phrase, a *reductio ad absurdum* of their principles. It would not be fair, however, to the foreign scholars we allude to, if we did not remark that the English writer appears to go far beyond his masters in the use he makes of their methods and principles. But then, again, even this may be taken as evidence tending to strengthen the doubt we have expressed as to the true design of his book. For it is of the nature of the parody, or satire, to exaggerate and distort the qualities and features of its original. And we must add, that we believe the recent German literature on biblical subjects would be searched in vain, in the quarters above alluded to, for instances of inconsequential reasoning, baseless assumption, in a word, of misused learning and ingenuity, of a more startling kind than are presented in this work. But, after all, we fear that our author intends the whole in sober earnest; and, that we may not appear to rail and bring charges against a man of learning and station which we cannot sustain, we will endeavour in few words to give some further account of the contents and object of his work.

The book of Jashar, it is well known to readers of the Bible, is quoted in two places of the Old Testament, viz., Josh. x. 13 and 2 Sam. i. 18. In the former, it is cited as the authority for the statement of Joshua, that the sun stood still on the day of the battle against the Amorites. We need not occupy ourselves here with the probable interpretation of this statement, as the means of pursuing the subject may be found in the commentators. There is also an ingenious explanation of the passage in the *Theological Repository*, Vol. I. p. 103, seq. In the second place above referred to, the same book is again quoted, it would appear, as the source from which the writer of Samuel derived the ode of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan. From these two instances, the conjecture is easy that the work was a collection of odes or songs of different ages and on various subjects. Such was the supposition of Bishop Lowth, who endeavours to support it by further conjecturing that the book, as well as some of its contents, began with the word *Vajashar*, derived from the verbal root meaning *to sing*. A conjectural change of a Hebrew word is what the good Bishop especially loves. In this case, as in many others, the conjecture is quite

gratuitous and unnecessary. But yet the opinion that the book of Jashar was a collection such as Lowth supposes, is probable enough in itself, if we may form any opinion at all on the only two data we have; and any opinion beyond or contrary to what they warrant, would be purely arbitrary.

Dr. Donaldson is not, however, contented with so simple an explanation. He decidedly prefers the view of Gesenius, to the effect that the word *jashar* (from a root expressing *straightness*) means *upright;* and that the book of Jashar, therefore, was probably the book of the Upright,—the latter word being used in a collective sense,—so that the phrase, finally, designates a collection of ancient Hebrew odes or songs relating to the actions of the Upright. But even Gesenius, says our author, did not clearly see the full meaning of his own explanation. For that learned Hebraist expresses doubt as to the signification in which *jashar* should here be taken, and even intimates that perhaps the term may be used of military virtue, thus giving us the signification, *book of Valour,* and making the work a collection of ancient odes relating to the valorous deeds of former times. Our new expositor sees more clearly that the word, being used to denote all who were distinguished for moral rectitude and piety, was specially applicable to the Israelites, because they had devoted themselves, by the rite of circumcision, to the performance of deeds of piety and virtue acceptable to Jehovah. Hence, again, the Hebrew writers must have considered the term *jashar* as the peculiar appellation of their own nation; and Dr. Donaldson comes to the conclusion that that term is the root not only of the word *Jeshurun,* but also of the word *Israel,* the religious cognomen of the chosen people.

The establishment of the latter point is, for the design of our author, of evident importance; because on it materially depends his theory that the book of Jashar was, in great part, no other than a record of the early history, the laws and institutions of the Israelitish *nation;* a record of which we have various fragments, besides the two express quotations before referred to, scattered throughout different books of the Old Testament. But in the establishment of this point, we think it may be shewn that the work signally fails. For it is obvious that the writer of Genesis, who (xxxii. 28) gives us his explanation of the origin of the name Israel, cannot possibly have regarded it as expressive of the idea denoted by the word *Jashar,* or, consequently, have considered *Jashar* and *Israel* as in any way identical. He plainly derived that name from a root meaning *to contend,* and says that it was given to Jacob as one who had in his vision contended with God. Now, however small the historical value that any one may attach to this statement, it probably represents the belief of the times in which the writer of Genesis lived, as to the

signification of the word Israel. It is not likely that he invented a new signification, and put it forth in opposition to the old and genuine idea which the name really conveyed; but much rather that he stated it because it was the current notion of the time. On what ground, then, are we to prefer this new conjecture to the belief of the nation itself, thus reported to us? Even if the former be etymologically right, which is very questionable, that belief, we must hold, clearly shews us that with the name *Israel* the word *Jashar*, to the mind of the ancient Hebrews, had really nothing to do; and that the title, book of Jashar, must to them, therefore, have been as far as possible from conveying the idea of book of Israel, or book of the history of Israel, or anything equivalent. Thus the meaning which our author endeavours to establish for the term *Jashar*, as a collective denoting specifically the righteous nation, and for the *book* as being a book relating, among other matters, to national history, laws and institutions, is entirely destitute of foundation, so far as identity of meaning between *Jashar* and *Israel* is concerned.

As to the other word, *Jeshurun*, it is of little moment to the present subject how it is explained. It occurs but four times (Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2); and granting that it is not a diminutive of the word Israel, but rather an independent formation from the root *jashar*, and applied as a term of fondness to the nation, we cannot see how any argument can be drawn from this fact, to shew that the book of Jashar was a work of the character which is here supposed. All Hebrew proper names, with hardly an exception, are significant, Jeshurun among them; and if, therefore, this word be from *jashar*, the fact in no way shews that the latter word, in the phrase so often cited, is either a collective, or used specifically of the Jewish people. And this remark brings us to the question, Why may not the word Jashar be, not, indeed, a *proper name*, for the article before it forbids that supposition, but at least an epithet denoting the author or compiler of the book so called? Surely Dr. Donaldson should have considered this point, before building upon the assumed signification of the title in question, the surprising theory respecting the origin and contents of the book of Jashar with which he has presented us. We take the conjecture last stated to be just as probable as any other that can be put forth. It must at any rate be acknowledged that, apart from the merest and most arbitrary guess-work, all that we really know respecting this twice-quoted book is limited to what we can gather from the two places where it is mentioned. For any one, then, first to assume that it was of a very different character from what those two places indicate, next to set himself to seek through half the Old Testament for supposed fragments of it corresponding to its fancied character, and then, by aid of the

most fearless use of conjecture and emendation, to endeavour to force the so-discovered pieces into a self-consistent whole, is surely the very madness of learning and critical ingenuity.

Let us, however, now notice more exactly what our author proposes to himself, and on what principles he proceeds to reconstruct the lost work. We will suppose that the character ascribed to it is the true one—that the book of Jashar was really a collection of "ancient odes and of other documents relating to the religious institutions and to the history of the worshippers of Jehovah" (p. 24). We may assume further that fragments of this ancient work may be still in existence, embodied among the other remains of the Hebrew literature, and ask, How are we to recognize them? In reply to this question, we cannot do better than give the substance of the fifth chapter of the prolegomena. From this the reader will learn both at what time the book of Jashar was composed, and also by what signs the remaining portions of it may now be known. A simple statement of the views put forth on these points will probably be all that is necessary to exhibit the extravagant and groundless character of the whole theory, and go far to justify the doubt which some persons may be disposed to entertain as to the real design of this work.

In order, then (we are told), that we may proceed aright in bringing together the fragments of the lost book, we must inquire, in the first place, at what time the collection was made. And all things prove, what on a first view is highly probable, that it was in the reign of Solomon that those ancient odes were put together, copied out, and laid up among the most precious documents of his flourishing empire. For at that time Hebrew prosperity had reached its highest point. Solomon enjoyed a more extended dominion than any previous king or judge of the nation. His kingdom reached from Egypt and the Philistines even to the Euphrates. His ships brought from Ophir gold and precious woods, from Tarshish gold and silver, ivory and rare animals. He married the daughter of the king of Egypt, and the Tyrian Hiram was his friend. In a period thus favoured by peace and commerce, without doubt literature flourished also; especially as, on the one hand, the friendship between Solomon and Hiram brought the Hebrews into connection with the Phœnicians, the great inventors, or promulgators, of the art of writing; and, on the other, the marriage with Pharaoh's daughter gave to Egyptian wisdom a ready admission into Palestine. Like Augustus Cæsar, too, among the Romans, Solomon Ben-David was the founder and patron of every kind of learning among the Israelites. The king himself wrote much, as the reputed works from his pen sufficiently testify. The time was evidently highly suitable, therefore, for the collection of the Divine promises and precepts; for putting together into one whole the writings which depicted the happy lot of the Upright, and adding to them what-

ever fitly set forth the valour and piety of David, or the glory and happiness of his son and successor.

Such are the general grounds on which the compilation of the Jasharan collection may be ascribed to the reign of Solomon. Specific reasons for the same conclusion may be stated as follows. (1.) Since it is certain that the elegy of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan was a part of the book, the collection must be posterior to David. (2.) Since in the benediction of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) and in the song of Moses (Deuteronomy xxxii. xxxiii.), which are certainly to be referred to the book of Jashar, all the tribes are named as still united, the collection must have been made before the revolt of Jeroboam. (3.) Since in the benediction of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 5), the Hebrew word מְכֵרָה which is the Greek *μαχαιρα*, occurs, and that word could not have become known to the Israelites before the time when David called in his Cretan auxiliaries (2 Sam. xv. 18, xx. 7; 1 Kings i. 38, 44), an occurrence which belongs to the later years of his reign, we may assign the Jasharan collection to the same period. (4.) Since the most probable interpretation of the difficult passage (Gen. xlix. 10) recognizes Solomon as named under the abbreviated form Shiloh, this passage must have been written when he was king. (5.) Since the book of *Uprightness* must be based on the idea that God made man *upright*, and this is the very doctrine of Solomon (Eccl. vii. 29), it is evident that Solomon would be the fittest originator or promoter of the collection.* (6.) David conquered the Edomites (2 Samuel viii. 14), but in Solomon's reign they recovered their independence (1 Kings xi. 15—22), and this fact is clearly expressed in a Jasharan fragment (Gen. xxviii. 40). Hence the book was not compiled before the time of Solomon.

In the Commentary on the supposed remains of the book of Jashar, with which the greater part of the volume is occupied, we are favoured with reasons for regarding the above-mentioned passages of Scripture as having formed parts of that book. We are bound to say that such reasons are resolvable very much into the pure affirmation of the author; and, consequently, of the foregoing six grounds, or arguments, all, except the first, must be pronounced imaginary. In reference to the third and fourth, the ease with which the author can decide that the word מְכֵרָה is Greek, although a satisfactory Hebrew root may readily be found,—implying, too, that David, a thousand years before Christ, had Greek mercenaries in his service,—and the equal facility with which it is settled that the word Shiloh, that puzzle

* We hope we express the whole meaning of this fifth head. Its force as an argument we fail to see, and therefore append the original: "(5.) Quum liber ille *probitatis* ab eo pendere debeat quod Deus Adamum *probum* fecerit, atque hæc sit ipsissima Solomonis sententia (Eccles. vii. 29), patet Solomonem aptissimum fore collectionis istius auctorem vel suasorem."

of interpreters, ancient and modern, means Solomon, are sufficiently remarkable. But the six arguments, given above, point only to the *date* of the composition of the book of Jashar. We still have to ask, where are we to look for its remains, and how are we to recognize them? These questions the author answers for us to the following effect.

The question of date being settled, it will not be difficult to see where the scattered members of the Jasharan anthology lie hid, and to bring them again into their pristine order. For we have many marks to guide us on the way. First, the title of the book, and the statement of Solomon that Adam was made upright, present themselves. From these we may perceive from what point the Jasharan collection took its start, and how it was intended to set forth the peculiar destiny of the religious people. In the second place, since the law given by God through Moses comprehended the fundamental principles of Israelitish piety and virtue, the Chaldee interpretation of the name Jashar* reminds us that some fragments are to be sought for in the *book of the Law*. To these we may add promises of happiness, and the blessings which were to follow obedience. Of the two citations of the book which remain, the former shews us that the work contained triumphal songs which celebrated the victories of the *Upright;* the latter intimates that the deeds of David found a place there; and if the compilation was made while Solomon was king, it is not likely that the happiness and splendour of his reign would be passed over in silence. Finally, that we may not be able to go astray, an eye-witness is at hand who knew the ancient land-marks well, and who will teach us the way to take —namely, Micha the Morasthite. He, no doubt, since he exercised his prophetic office during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, might have in his hands that completed body of Jasharan poetry, nor were there many other books extant at that time, the words of which he could appropriate. Now it is most certain that Micha (i. 10) has copied verbatim that paronomastic clause of the Jasharan elegy (2 Sam. i. 20), "Tell it not in Gath." Moreover, he alludes (vi. 5) to the prophecy of Balaam, which everybody will refer to the same source, and frequently cites Deuteronomy, which, as we are shewn, is in great part made up of passages taken from the book of Jashar. And, what is of chief moment, he so uses the very word *jashar* (vii. 2), as though he wished to refer his readers to the principles of our book.

Guided, then, by such a series of witnesses and testimonies, Dr. Donaldson has, he tells us, undertaken to restore the *book of Uprightness*. The work may be divided into seven parts, of which the *first* expounds the meaning of the word *jashar;* the

* It has been previously mentioned by the author, that the Chaldee gives the words, book of Jashar, as meaning *book of Law*.

second teaches why Israel was chosen; the *third* shews in what manner the chosen people attained the promised rest; the *fourth* contains the precepts of Uprightness; the *fifth* proclaims the blessings, and the *sixth* the triumphs, of Israel; the *seventh* finally sets forth the fortunes of David and Solomon, as present to the writer.

In accordance with this fanciful scheme, our author sets before us, and pieces together, the fragments belonging to each of the seven parts of the work. They are selected on the vague and arbitrary principles of which, closely following the author's own words, we have given a statement; and are accompanied by a voluminous Commentary, in which it is a main point to shew that they are rightly ascribed to the book of Jashar. We cannot pursue the subject into this part of the work, further than to observe, that while some things in it are incredibly, and most needlessly, gross, and while it contains much that seems to us fanciful and arbitrary in the extreme, it everywhere reveals the learning and ingenuity that might be expected from the author. But, indeed, the book, like some others of the kind, is much *too* ingenious. The whole theory, in its fundamental principles, we take to be no more than a baseless fabric of the imagination, hardly requiring, or deserving, a grave refutation. The work may certainly take its place among the "Curiosities of Literature;" but will hardly, as the author in his Preface anticipates, throw new light over the whole field of theology.

It is not the least remarkable circumstance in connection with this book, that it is the production of a clergyman of our Established Church. How its statements may be reconcilable with the creeds and articles, it is not for us to determine. Dr. Donaldson, we observe (p. 347), affirms that nothing which he has said, in any manner impugns the articles; that he has nowhere exceeded the recognized liberty of interpretation; that he is able to renew his subscription, maintaining unchanged the line of argument pursued—(salva hac interpretatione professionem meam in extenso iterare possum). How far this may be so, happily we are not called upon to decide. But if it be so, certainly the liberty of interpretation within our National Church is greater than we had thought; and to unsophisticated persons, looking on from a distance, it must seem strange that from the days of Tract No. 90, down even to the present work, so much subtlety of reasoning should from time to time have been required to vindicate for clergymen of unsettled opinions the right to remain and minister within the established fold.

PATIENCE.

(FROM THE GERMAN.)

A HOLY angel wendeth
O'er earth his silent way,
Whom the kind Father sendeth
In grief to be our stay.
Peace on his brow abideth,
Yet reverence doth he claim;
O follow where he guideth,
For Patience is his name!

His faithful hand will lead thee
Through every strait aright;
While cheeringly to speed thee,
He tells of days more bright.
E'en if thou sink'st despairing,
He can renew thy might,—
Will aid thy Cross in bearing,
And make its burden light.

To sorrow mild he stilleth
Grief's keen and bitter smart;
With humble trust he filleth
The wildly-beating heart.
From darkest hours he stealeth
A portion of their woe;
And every wound he healeth
With certain touch, though slow.

He will not blame thy weeping,
Though he would give thee balm;
And in his holy keeping
Each anxious wish grows calm.
And if in passion's wildness,
Thou murmuring askest, "Why?"
With pitying smile of mildness,
He pointeth to the sky.

He hath not the commission
All doubtful things to clear;
His motto is, "Submission—
The hour of rest is near."
Thus walketh he beside thee,
And droppeth words of love;
And thro' Earth's wilds will guide thee,
To thy bright home above.

W.

A LETTER OF JOHN LOCKE.

[There have been lately published in several Nos. of "Notes and Queries" some letters of John Locke. One of them, addressed to Mr. Samuel Bold, at Steeple, is particularly interesting, and we gladly transfer it to our pages. Respecting the person to whom the letter is addressed, some particulars will be found in Wallace's Antitrinitarian Biography, I. 315, note. The contributor of the letter to "Notes and Queries" gives this account of him:

"Born in 1649, he published in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. various sermons against persecution, and in favour of charity. One of them, under the title of "A Plea for Moderation," published in the latter reign, drew upon him the persecution which he deprecated. The times were unfavourable, and he suffered imprisonment. His principal subsequent publications were in defence of the works of Locke. In 1699, the year in which the letter is dated, he published a vindication of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*. This is the work alluded to in the present letter. After Locke's death, he published vindications of his *Doctrine of the Resurrection*, and of his *Treatise on the Reasonableness of Christianity*. He lived until the year 1737 and the age of eighty-eight.

"Locke and he were personally acquainted before the date of the following letter. In June, 1703, he visited Oates, and in several of Locke's published letters he will be found mentioned with great regard. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and held the living of Steeple, and afterwards that of Shapwick, in Dorsetshire.

"Of the light thrown by the following letter upon the character of its writer, it is unnecessary for me to offer any remark. The letter is worthy of the great man from whom it proceeded, and in strict conformity with all we know of the reasonable and manly principles by which his life was governed."—Ed. C. R.]

A Letter from Mr. John Locke to Mr. Samuel Bold, at Steeple, which is not to be found in the collection of his Works.

Sir,—Yours of the 11th of April I received not till last week. I suppose Mr. Churchil stay'd it till that discourse wherein you have been pleased to defend my . . . . Essay was printed, that they might come together, though neither of them needs a companion to recommend it to me. Your reasonings are so strong and just, and your friendship to me so visible, that everything must be welcome to me that comes from your pen, let it be of what kind soever.

I promise myself, that to all those who are willing to open their eyes and enlarge their minds to a true knowledge of things, this little treasure of yours will be greatly acceptable and useful; and for those that will shut their eyes for fear they should see further than others have seen before them, or rather for fear they should use them, and not blindly and lazily follow the sayings of others, what can be done to them? They are to be let alone to join in the cry of the herd they have placed themselves in, and to take that for applause which is nothing but the noise that

of course they make to one another, which way [so] ever they are going; so that the greatness of it is no manner of proof that they are in the right. I say not this, because it is a discourse wherein you favour any oppinion of mine (for I take care not to be deceived by the reasonings of my friends), but say it from those who are strangers to you, and who own themselves to have received light and conviction from the clearness and closeness of your reasoning, and that in a matter at first sight very abstruse, and remote from ordinary conceptions.

There is nothing that would more rejoice me than to have you for my neighbour. The advantage that you promise yourself from mine, I should receive from your conversation. The impartial lovers and seekers of truth are a great deal fewer than one could wish or imagine. It is a rare thing to find any one to whom one may communicate one's thoughts freely, and from whom one may expect a carefull examination and impartial judgment of them. To be learned in the lump by other men's thoughts, and to be in the right by saying after others, is the much easier and quieter way: but how a rational man, that should inquire and know for himself, can content himself with a faith or religion taken upon trust, or with such a servile submission of his understanding, as to admit all, and nothing else but what fashion makes passable among men, is to me astonishing. I do not wonder you should have, in many points, different apprehensions from what you meet with in authors; with a free mind, that unbiassedly pursues truth, it cannot be otherwise. First, all authors did not write unbiassedly for truth's sake. Secondly, there are scarce any two men, that have perfectly the same view of the same thing, till they come with attention, and perhaps mutual assistance, to examine it,—a consideration that makes conversation with the living a thing much more desirable and useful, than consulting the dead; would the living but be inquisitive after truth, and apply their thoughts with attention to the gaining of it, and be indifferent where it was found, so they could but find it.

The first requisite to the profiting by books, is not to judge of opinions by the authority of the writers; none have the right of dictating but God himself, and that because he is truth itself. All others have a right to be followed as far as I, *i. e.* as far as the evidence of what they say convinces; and of that my own understanding alone must be judge for me, and nothing else. If we made our own eyes our guides, and admitted or rejected opinions only by the evidence of reason, we should neither embrace or refuse any tenet, because we find it published by another, of what name or character soever he was.

You say you lose many things because they slip from you: I have had experience of that myself, but for that my Lord Bacon has provided a sure remedy. For as I remember, he advises

somewhere, never to go without pen and ink, or something to write with, and to be sure not to neglect to write down all thoughts of moment that come into the mind. I must own I have omitted it often, and have often repented it. The thoughts that come unsought, and as it were dropt into the mind, are commonly the most valuable of any we have, and therefore should be secured, because they seldom return again. You say also, that you lose many things, because your thoughts are not steady and strong enough to pursue them to a just issue. Give me leave to think, that herein you mistake yourself and your abilities. Write down your thoughts upon any subject as far as you have at any time pursued them, and then go on again some other time when you find your mind disposed to it, and so till you have carried them as far as you can, and you will be convinced, that, if you have lost any, it has not been for want of strength of mind to bring them to an issue, but for want of memory to retain a long train of reasonings, which the mind having once beat out, is loth to be at the pains to go over again; and so your connection and train having slipped the memory, the pursuit stops, and the reasoning is neglected before it comes to the last conclusion. If you have not tried it, you cannot imagin the difference there is, in studying with, and without a pen in your hand; your ideas, if the connections of them that you have traced be set down, so that without the pains of recollecting them in your memory you can take an easy view of them again, will lead you further than you expect. Try, and tell me if it is not so. I say not this that I should not be glad to have any conversation upon whatever points you shall employ your thoughts about. Propose what you have of this kind freely, and do not suspect that it will interfere with my affairs.

Know that besides the pleasure that it is to converse with a thinking man and a lover of truth, I shall profit by it more than you. This you would see by the frequency of my visits, if you were within the reach of them.

That which I think of Deut. xii. 15, is this, that the reason why it is said, As the Roebuck and the Hart, is because (Levit. 17), to prevent idolatry, in offering the blood to other gods, they were commanded to kill all the cattle that they eat, at the door of the tabernacle, as a peace-offering, and sprinkle the blood on the altar; but wilde beasts that were clean might be eaten though their blood was not offered to God (v. 12), because being killed before they were taken, their blood could not be sprinkled on the altar; and therefore it sufficed in such cases, to pour out their blood wherever they were killed and cover it with dust. And for the same reason, when the camp was broken up, wherein the whole people were in the neighbourhood of the tabernacle, during their forty years' passage from Egypt to Canaan, and the people were scattered in habitations through all

the land of promise; those who were so far from the Temple were excused (Deut. xii. 21, 22) from killing their tame cattle at Jerusalem, and sprinkling their blood on the altar. No more was required of them than in killing a roebuck or any other wilde beast; they were only to pour out the blood and cover it with dust, and so they might eat of the flesh. These are my thoughts concerning this passage.

What you say about critics and critical interpretations, particularly of the Scriptures, is not only in my opinion true, but of great use to be observed in reading learned commentators, who not seldom make it their business to shew in what sense a word has been used by other authors; whereas the proper business of a commentator is to shew in what sense it was used by the author in that place, which in the Scripture we have reason to conclude was most commonly in the ordinary vulgar sense of the word or phrase known in that time, because the books are written, as you rightly observe, and adapted to the people. If critics had observed this, we should have in their writings lesse ostentation and more truth, and a great deal of darkness now spread on the Scriptures had been avoided. I have a late proof of this myself, who have lately found in some passages of Scripture a sense quite different from what I understood them in before, or from what I found in commentators; and yet it appears so clear to me, that when I see you next, I shall dare to appeal to you in it. But I read the Word of God without prepossession or bias, and come to it with a resolution to take my sense from it, and not with a design to bring it to the sense of any system. How much that has made men wind and twist and pull the text in all the several sects of Christians, I need not tell you. I design to take my religion from the Scripture, and then whether it suits, or suits not, any other denomination, I am not much concerned: for I think at the last day, it will not be inquired, whether I was of the Church of England or Geneva, but, whether I sought or embraced truth in the love of it.

The proofs I have set down in my book of one infinite, independent eternal Being, satisfies me; and the gentleman that designed others and pretended that the next proposition to that of the existence of a self-sufficient being should be this, that such a being is but one, and that he could prove it antecedent to his attributes, viz., infinity, omnipotency, &c., I am since pretty well satisfied, pretended to what he had not. And I trouble not myself any further about the matter. As to what you say on the occasion, I agree with you, that the ideas of modes and actions of substances are usually in our minds before the idea of substance itself; but in this I differ from you, that I do not think the ideas of operations of things are antecedent to the ideas of their existence; for they must exist before they can

any ways affect us to make us sensible of their operations, and we must suppose them to be before they operate.

The Essay is going to be printed again; I wish you were near, that I might shew you the several alterations and additions I have made, before they go to the press: the warm weather that begins now with us, makes me hope I shall now speedily get to town. If any business draws you thither this summer, I hope you will order it so, that I may have a good share of your company; nobody values it more than I, and I have a great many things to talk with you.

I am, Sir, your most affectionate, humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Oats, May 16, 1699.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND SERVICE FOR THE 29th OF MAY, BY THE LATE REV. ROBERT ASPLAND.

IN making my protest against this service, I beg not to be understood as reflecting upon another sect of Christians. The matter of complaint is not sectarian, but national. The service enjoined by authority in England on this day, implicates the character of the nation.

A red letter is set against the day on account of what is called the *Restoration*, and a form of prayer is appointed, and in numberless churches has been this morning used, giving God thanks for the event. Yet what an event? The setting up of a perfidious and profligate prince upon a throne from which his family had been driven by the righteous indignation of a whole people for their despotism and cruelty, and from which they were soon after expelled a second time to save the country from the yoke of bondage. The service of the day almost treasonably asserts the divine right of the exiled family; I say *treasonably*, because it implies that the present illustrious family on the throne are usurpers. It laments the Great Rebellion, which History delights to dwell upon as one of the proudest periods in our annals. It recognizes the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which suppose that God Almighty has made the world merely for Kings and Queens. It rejoices in a turn of affairs by which this poor country was delivered up, bound hand and foot, to the mercy of a wicked faction, who caused the scaffold to stream with the best blood of England. And it devotes to execration the names of the great actors in that soul-stirring period, whom to single out is to praise,—Hampden and Pym and Sir H. Vane and Whitelock and Ludlow and Hutchinson, and the then young Sydney, and above all John Milton,—*men* worthy to be so called, whose fame is a part of the glory of this glorious land, which they that descend from them or come after them will never suffer to be plucked down and tarnished, as long as they know what is owing to eloquence and wisdom and public virtue, and make piety (for it is esteemed piety in Heaven) of the memory of the excellent among their fathers.

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF REV. JOHN SEDDON. No. IV.*

Rev. John Aikin, D.D., to Rev. John Seddon.

Warrington, April 15.

Rev. and dear Sir,—I received both your kind letters, and with your last, Mrs. Seddon's obliging present to my girl; both she and my wife think it extremely pretty, and send Mrs. Seddon the thankful acknowledgments of her favour.

I think your advice to Mr. Jessoe was perfectly right. I am glad we are to have him amongst us.

We have had since my last one pupil added to our number,—Mr. Cookson, from Kendal, designed for trade. Mr. Holt gives two or three lectures in Geography a-week, after his other lectures are ended, so that the young gentlemen have full employment.

Things remain at as great uncertainty as ever with Mr. Maddox.

Dr. Taylor removes to his new house some time this week. It will be a difficult question with us, I find, how far it may be right to divide the attendance of the gentlemen betwixt the academy and his house, both in respect to the devotional exercises and those on Saturday morning.

I am pleas'd to find you propose returning to us soon. We wish you both a safe and pleasant journey, and shall be very glad to see you at Warrington again. My brother and sister Jennings will, I am sure, think themselves honoured by and happy in your acquaintance. I am glad to hear my young nephew is well; their affections I know are very much set upon him.

I think myself extremely oblig'd to you for your services to Mr. Poultney; he is a very worthy man, and I believe at present in great anxiety.

My wife, daughter and son, all unite in most sincere and respectful compliments to yourself and Mrs. Seddon.

I am, your greatly obliged and very humble servant,

Jno. Aikin.

P.S. The Dr. preach'd to-day two very good practical discourses to young people. He is in very good health and spirits.

I suppose you have heard of the death of young Mr. Harman.

Rev. Philip Holland to Rev. John Seddon.

Bolton, May 7, 1762.

Dear Sir,—Yours of May the 1st was greatly acceptable for the news it contain'd, but especially for the marks of your esteem and friendship. I have wrote to Mr. Gaskel and Mr. Astley. Am sorry we are not to have your company at the Provincial. I am not very clear what kind of paper it will be proper to address to the managers of the Presbyterian Fund; whether notice should be taken of any insinuations of a connection between the Academy and Liturgy scheme; or what the ministers will be inclin'd to attest with regard to the qualifications and diligence of the tutors. If you will send one, I will endeavour to get it sign'd; if you cannot, I will draw one up myself in the best manner I can. I could have wish'd to have found you at home 12th of May for various reasons, and particularly to have had your sentiments on the propriety

* Continued from Vol. X. p. 629.

of introducing a scheme for the relief of ministers' widows, which I have thoughts of proposing to the brethren; but should like either to pursue it or drop it, with your advice and concurrence. As to the instruments, I mean such as may be necessary to the student in the elements; I will leave the price to you, and shall have no objection to the sum they may cost, if their usefulness be equivalent; as to anything ornamental, I am indifferent about it. Your accounts of great men would suggest many remarks; but I am straiten'd in time, have been busy writing all day for Sunday, and begin to be tir'd; am unwilling to put off till another post, least there should not be time for an answer before the Provincial. If yours go into the office on Thursday, I shall have it on Sunday; if it be later, it will not find me at home; but I may hear from you the next post at Warrington. I cannot conclude without a word of Liverpool, but know not what to say or think of your invitation. I have many criticisms on the Liturgy for your inspection; but shall only stay to add Mrs. Holland's compliments to yourself and Mrs. Seddon with those of, dear Sir, your very affectionate, humble servant,

P. Holland.

Rev. Philip Holland to Rev. John Seddon.

Warrington, May 19, 1762.

Dear Sir,—The circumstance of writing abroad makes me more sensible of my obligation to you for two such long letters from London. I know not whether you will like the form into which the inclosed is thrown; but we were not able to carry it in any other; if you had been with us, we should have done better. Mr. Brekel and I had a very long but not uncivil debate. Nobody else, I believe, would have objected to what I had proposed; but he did. You will, however, have this advantage in the present paper, that, as it is not particularly addressed to anybody, you may shew it where and to whom you please without any impropriety.

The other affair relating to widows was mentioned, but not considered. We had four ordained; to wit, Mr. Priestly and my brother John to the other two. Mr. Harwood would gladly have joined them, but was not incouraged. He has wrote a letter to Mr. Pope strongly recommending this academy, and has receiv'd his answer; he must not expect to be imploy'd any longer in that quarter. He would fain have scrap'd some acquaintance with me; but I would not speak to him. * * * I should have told you Mr. Day ask'd the questions, Mr. Mottershead pray'd, Mr. Braddock gave the charge and concluded. Mrs. Holland is with me here, joins in every kind wish to yourself and Mrs. Seddon. We are very sorry you are abroad, but she could not come to Warrington at any other time but this. We are intending for Mobberley to-day; shall hope to see you soon; and am in the mean time, dear Sir, your very affectionate,

P. Holland.

P.S. The people here I find are full of concern least you should leave them. I am ready to hope the determination will be to stay; but this I must not enter into.

The allusions of Mr. Holland were to the invitation from the new society who were now building the chapel which from its shape obtained the name of the Octagon, in Temple Court, Liverpool. Of this society, the foremost in activity and influence

was Mr. Thomas Bentley. The letter which follows appears to have enclosed the formal invitation.

Thomas Bentley, Esq., to Rev. John Seddon.

April 14, 1762.

Dear and Rev. Sir,—I hope the enclosed paper will meet with a favourable reception. I think it is a matter of great importance, and that you would be agreeably situated here. I make no doubt of a very flourishing congregation, if you accept of the charge that is offered to you. Our people are very cordial in desiring you may come, though we have expressed ourselves with some caution in a public letter, which does not admit of those warm expressions that private friendship would dictate. But I dare not say much, through fear of speaking more from my heart than my head.

I hope He that guides the great machine of the universe will direct you for the best: I need not say I hope, for He certainly will. Let the seemingly uninfluenced dictates of your own sentiments be your directory—and let us expect the best.

This is an important link in human affairs; but I have no business to prophecy. I forbear; and am, as usual, your affectionate friend,

THOMAS BENTLEY.

From a long and confidential letter addressed to Mr. Seddon by his friend Rev. Richard Godwin, it appears that before inviting Mr. Seddon, their thoughts had been turned to Dr. (then Mr.) Priestley, Mr. Heywood, of Chesterfield, and Mr. Lowthion, of Newcastle. Earnest dissuasives from Warrington besought him not to leave an attached and united flock. The death of Dr. Benson had made an opening in London, and a cordial invitation, signed by the two Vaughans and many others, solicited Mr. Seddon to accept the co-pastorship at Poor Jewry Lane, with the Rev. E. Radcliff. During a previous visit to the Metropolis, Mr. Seddon had been induced to think of a removal to London.

Thomas Bentley, Esq., to Rev. John Seddon.

June 20, 1762.

My dear and Rev. Friend,—When I came here I found your invitation to London had transpired, upon which your acceptance of ours was thought to be dubious. But as this is not the right view of the case, suppose you determine to refuse us, I represented the effect your coming here wou'd have upon the academy, as the chief cause of your hesitation, tho' without being able to satisfie others, as you and Mr. Priestley seemed to satisfy me.

I cannot make some of my friends apprehend any damage to the academy from your removal to Liverpool; nor do they imagine anything has happened to change the circumstances of things since you viewed them, without such great apprehensions of danger from this cause. Pray review the case again, and help me with those arguments that I heard with great reluctance, and have forgot.

Our friends cannot think any set of men so weak or wicked as to ruin a good institution, because a friend to that happens to be a friend to another which they do not entirely approve, and with which the good education of youth is no way concerned. The paper signed by the Lan-

cashire Dissenters they think will stand as a sufficient proof that there is no connexion between the academy and the Liturgy.

What reason is there to expect the contrary? I am very *dull* upon this subject.

I have received your summons, and will obey it if I can.

I am your respectful and affectionate friend,

THOMAS BENTLEY.

At length Mr. Seddon answered both applications in the negative, and a copy of each document is now given. The first is addressed to London, the second to Liverpool.

Gentlemen,—It is matter of no small concern to me that I have been so long in replying to the proposal I had the honour to receive from your society the 18th of the last month, and the more so as my final resolution must, after all, be so different from your, and indeed my own, expectation.

The first thought of a settlement in town, and particularly in the congregation at Crouched Friars, was very agreeable to me, as it opened before me, I thought, a prospect of much usefulness; would connect me with a number of gentlemen of an open, candid and liberal turn of mind; and give me an opportunity of serving the interests of the academy at Warrington in a much more extensive manner than in almost any other situation. My mind was fully possessed by these views and sentiments when I left London; and I did then imagine I should have soon been able to come to a speedy resolution, entirely to my own satisfaction. But as soon as I got down into the country and communicated my intentions to my friends here, they with one voice remonstrated against my leaving my present situation, unless there were an immediate prospect of providing another person in whom the congregation at Warrington would readily unite, and who wou'd be willing to undertake that part of the business of the academy which has hitherto passed thro' my hands. In this I thought I shou'd have been able to succeed, having had all along a person in view who was in every respect well fitted for the province to be assigned him, and with whom I had had some private conversation, and who at that time did not appear very averse to it: but when the proposal came to be made to him, he totally refused to attend to it; and none of the considerations I cou'd propose had sufficient weight with him to remove from his present situation, which is indeed both a respectable and a useful one. The consequence of which is, that I am reduced to the disagreeable necessity of giving up a prospect in many respects very agreeable to me, or of hazarding the peace and union of a congregation, and the future success of an institution which I acknowledge I consider in the light of great importance.

It was very fully my intention to have accepted your invitation; it is a disappointment to me that I cannot do it without appearing to break in upon my other important engagements. Cou'd I have foreseen the turn which things wou'd have taken, I wou'd by no means have suffered so much of your time to be lost, which I am afraid cannot but be attended with some inconvenience. I rely wholly upon your candour for a favourable judgment of my present conduct. I act from consideration of greater usefulness; and shou'd be sorry to be in the least deprived of the esteem of a society of gentlemen for whom I entertain the highest

respect. The remembrance of your friendship and partiality in my favour will always remain with me; and it will be the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to me to have the vacancy in your church filled up with a person much more deserving such a situation than, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant, J. Seddon.

Warrington, July 8, 1762.

Gentlemen,—Since my return from London, I have taken into my most mature consideration the proposal which I had the honor to receive from your society, and am now to acquaint you with my final resolution in relation to it.

The importance of the design in which you are engaged; the many and extensive consequences which may possibly arise from it in favor of true religion and public liberty; the respectable light in which your society will probably appear to impartial men; and the prospect of being connected with so many persons of an open, candid and ingenuous turn of mind, were indeed flattering circumstances, and did very much engage my attention. But when I came minutely to consider my present situation and connections, and the probable consequences which wou'd attend my removal to Liverpool, I was very early apprehensive that I should be obliged in prudence to decline your proposal, though in so many respects agreeable to me.

In most of the important transactions of human life, a man's conduct is very seldom governed by one single motive; more frequently a variety of views present themselves to his mind: but in the resolution I am now forming, there is one consideration which has weight with me above all the rest, and which, therefore, I beg leave to submit to you.

Very early after your present design was publickly known, there were great pains taken to make the world believe that there was a conceal'd connection between it and the academy at Warrington, and that the latter was principally instituted not only to facilitate the introduction of a Liturgy in Liverpool, but to extend it to the neighbouring congregations, and gradually to bring it into general use amongst the Dissenters. As this was a representation the most contrary to truth, I was always willing to flatter myself no very ill effects would arise from it: but in this I was mistaken. It did inflame the minds of many; it awakened many jealousies and suspicions, to the very great disadvantage of the academy; insomuch that great numbers declared their dissatisfaction with it on this account, and refused to concur in its support till this matter was fully cleared up. Every prudent method was pursued to convince the public how much it was abused in this invidious representation, and that it was no more than an artifice of the enemies of the academy to injure and destroy that useful institution. It must be acknowledged that a good deal has been done towards removing these prejudices; but, after all, such is the state of many people's minds, particularly in London,—and that not only amongst the ministers, but many very considerable persons of the laity,—that shou'd I engage in the service of your church, it wou'd be the means of reviving these prejudices afresh, and fixing them in the minds of those who are otherwise disposed to befriend our little seminary in Warrington. I cannot think myself at liberty to hazard the success of an institution which promises so much publick utility; and the generous concern which I know you bear to the same valueable object, will incline you to admit the weight

which this consideration has in my present conduct. I am very sensible how unreasonable these prejudices are, and see with concern the unhappy spirit which has discovered itself upon this occasion,—a spirit very unbecoming the sons of Freedom, and alike inconsistent with the character of Christian, Protestant or Dissenter. But there are some circumstances in human life in which it is right to yield a little to popular prejudices.

Go on, Gentlemen, with the same spirit and prudence in which you have begun, to assert your just liberty of worshipping the Deity in the manner most agreeable to the judgment of your own minds, and doubt not but the good providence of God will give success to your worthy and upright intentions.

I am, Gentlemen, with very high respect and esteem, your most humble servant, JOHN SEDDON.

At the same time that I have represented the interest of the academy as of principal consideration with me, it will, I presume, be understood that other reasons have had their proportionate weight. The attachment I have to my congregation here; the agreeable friendships I have formed in my present situation, and from which I have the prospect of much happiness; and a conviction that a stranger wou'd be more likely to serve the interests of your society (in which thought I have the honour to concur with some of your own body),—have all conspired to lead me to my present determination.

Thomas Bentley, Esq., to Rev. John Seddon.

Liverpool, July 22, 1762.

Dear Sir,—Last night there was a meeting of our society here, when your letters were read to them; and tho' we are not a little disappointed that you have not been able to give us a favourable answer, yet we are all very sensible of the politeness and delicacy of it; for which I am desired to return the grateful thanks of the society, and to request the continuance of your friendship and assistance, as far as is consistent with your other connections.

I make no reflections nor lamentations upon this disagreeable subject —so it is fix'd, and so it must be—but look forward to the things that are before.

We have by *ballot*, and therefore *secretly*, as to the manner, elected *three* persons to meet you three gentlemen compilers,* at such place and time as we can mutually fix upon, to read over the Liturgy and the remarks, and to fix upon such alterations as are to be made,—these three carrying with them the sense of the society. The three persons chosen are Dr. Dobson, Mr. Samuel Green and Mr. Thomas Bentley.

I wish you wou'd, as soon as you can, inform me when and where we shall meet, and we will endeavour to conform ourselves to your time and place. Perhaps Ashton, if they can find us beds, wou'd be central enough; for I think this convocation shou'd not be held at Warrington, for fear evil reports shou'd fly abroad to the injury of that institution. Oh!—oh!—oh! What spirit are we of? A very bad one, I doubt; or we should not make such an uproar about so innocent a matter. But never mind 'em. As I have often heard, and do most faithfully believe,

* Rev. John Seddon, Rev. P. Holland and Rev. R. Godwin.

God is above the Devil; and the spirit of *Wrath* must give way to the spirit of *Love.* Excuse my mystic expressions; though they savour of Dr. Law, they have a *mighty sense in 'em.*

And now for a helmsman! Yes, but who will take us under his care, when he who knew us best, and was well acquainted with the construction of the ship, has refused to come aboard? This is a bad symptom. And yet the reason is so public, that I hope it will do us no mischief.

I have a very agreeable letter from Mr. Heywood, of Chesterfield, that looks a little like *nibbling;* but I shall understand nothing about the matter without he speaks plainer. If he wou'd move, he has many qualities very suitable for us, tho' there are many obstacles in the way; but if he was to come, the *Heywoods'* connection wou'd be fixed in our favour, as he is not only a relation, but much admired by them.

With respects to your lady, and to Mr. Priestley and his lady, I remain, your very affectionate friend,

THOS. BENTLEY.

The two letters that follow are from Mr. R. Griffiths, the bookseller and proprietor of the Monthly Review, of whom not much can be said in praise. He has a place in literary history by his connection with Oliver Goldsmith; and they who have recently enjoyed Mr. Forster's admirable Biography of him, will remember his estimate of Griffiths and his spouse.

Mr. Griffiths to Rev. John Seddon.

London, Aug. 3, '62.

My dear Sir,—Your favour of July 19, with the draught for the amount of the little account between us, is acknowledged; and this acknowledgment would have been sooner made, but for the trouble I have had about letting my house, which has taken up great part of my time and attention for this fortnight past. This important affair is, however, at length settled; I am to turn out at Michaelmas next. Meantime, I shall be very busy in settling accounts, &c. But that shall not hinder my sending you a parcel of books to R——w, which I hope to dispatch about a week hence. I should be glad if Mr. Priestley would signify what he would have me do with the sheets of——you know what.

Hark! how my good woman scolds at you for thus persisting in the joke about her [alledged] exploits in the literary way, and charging her with reviewing Mr. Harwood's pamphlet. She says this is carrying the matter too far, and, in good earnest, realizing the phantom of *Smollet's old woman.* Indeed, my friend, I cannot say but this hurts me a little too, and is the more provoking, as I can with the most sacred truth declare that there never was a single word written for the R—— by a female pen, unless it were a few lines by the learned Miss C——, of D——.

The inclosed comes from my learned friend Mr. I——s, who desires me to conceal his name from you; but he has spoken too late. I send you his letter, which you may inclose back to me the next time you write. You have also a letter from Mr. Brown, to whom you talk'd of writing yourself—have you? *Apropos,* I have expended sundry *franks* in your service; but I fancy you can get at this commodity more easily than I can; if so, send about—half a bushel.

When do you print your Liturgy? I am sensible of the honour you intended me in regard to the publication of it, and am still desirous of

being concerned in that affair. And tho' I may not perhaps appear much longer to the world in the character of a bookseller, yet it may be still in my power to serve you, or any other of my *chosen* friends, in that capacity. I shall have my agents in the trade; and if you will give me a share in the *property* and *profits* of the said Liturgy, I will get it printed and published in such a manner and on such terms as may turn out very much to the advantage of the concern. When you see my quondam friend Mr. R. Godwin, pray give my love to him, and tell him I long to grasp his honest Staffordshire fist.

I had something else to say—oh! 'tis about your coming to London. Mr. Kippis says you have laid aside that design. Is this true? If it is, I am very sorry for it, that's all.

Farewell! Remember me!

London, Oct. 26, 1762.

Thanks to my kind friend for his valuable contribution towards the present month's collection. The article relating to the Liturgy is peculiarly to my taste. The writer of that article will turn out an excellent reviewer, or I am much mistaken.

Mr. Seddon desires me to send him the name and history of the author, or editor, of the *Liturgy Reduced*. As to the history of the man, I am entirely ignorant thereof; but his name is Hopkins.* He is minister (rector, I think) of Cuckfield, in Sussex; and is remarkable for his zeal for freedom of sentiment and religious liberty,—a thorough honest man, perfectly disinterested, and most unaffectedly despising all lucrative and worldly considerations. I think, too, he is said to have been concerned in the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*. He was in town this summer, and called upon me. His appearance struck me. I hardly ever saw a more ordinary looking person; yet there shone thro' his homely, simple countenance an air of honesty and good-nature which could scarce fail of inspiring the beholder with respect. In a word, he had entirely the look and deportment of an Israelite without guile. I don't mean a *Jew;* and yet, now I think of it, he did look a little like a Jew, it must be confessed. Nevertheless, I verily believe him to be a most sincere Christian; tho' I fancy neither the Church of England, nor the Church of Scotland, nor the Church of Rome, will be fond of owning such Christians.

As soon as you are able to form a judgment of the Biographical Dictionary, I shall be glad of your account of that work. But, as you rightly remark, it must not be done too hastily. Your notion that it is a jobb of the trade is probably very true; but I am well assured that the booksellers did as much as in them lay towards doing justice to the public in that undertaking; for they spared for no reasonable expense (I hear that they have expended near £3000 in that work) in order to have it well executed, especially after the two or three first volumes, in which the authors used both their employers and the public very ill. This the proprietors discovering, took the work out of the hands of the first compilers (who I believe were the projectors of the scheme), and put it into other and better hands. In consequence of which, I am told, many of the *lives* in the latter volumes are done in a manner much superior to the former ones.

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* Of Rev. W. Hopkins, an account will be found in Mon. Rep. I. 337—340, and VIII. 425.

I have not seen Dr. Sharpe since he dined with me at the Dunciad, in company with Mr. Seddon; I believe he has been altogether in the country since that time. Neither do I remember to have seen Flexman since about the same time. You cannot hold his meanness in more contempt than I do. As to Rose, we are now neighbours, yet see each other seldomer than formerly. If ever I have the pleasure of shaking your honest fist again, I will tell you more of my new system concerning Roses and Thistles.

I purpose, God willing, to send you a little cargo in about a week's time, and will endeavour to make you some small amends for the rubbish you were plagued with before.

My poor wife, who is almost demolished with that infernal distemper the gout, desires me not to forget her best respects to Mr. Seddon, of whom she thinks almost as highly as she does of her husband, *but not quite*. I hope Mrs. Seddon is well. Pray my compliments to the good lady and to Mr. Priestley. By the way, did not you tell me, when in London, that Mr. P. desired you to pay me a balance of his account for books had of me when he lived at Nantwich? And does he remember that the said balance is not paid? I do not mention this to press him, for I desire he will use his own convenience in that respect.

Yours affectionately, R. Griffiths.

Mr. Harwood is about to publish something, but I am not concerned.

Thomas Bentley, Esq., to Rev. John Seddon.

Liverpool, Sept. 25, 1762.

Dear and Rev. Sir,—The two last times I passed thro' Warrington, I had not the pleasure of seeing you, so must be obliged to write what I cou'd have said better in conversation.

The time now draws very near when our building will be finished; and if the Liturgy and Minister are not ready at the same time, we shall grow languid and indifferent, which I am afraid is the case with some of us already. Since I saw you, I have been at Derby, to hear a gentleman that was much recommended, and very deservedly in many respects; and I also visited Mr. Heywood, to sound his inclinations, but found him too fully engaged where he is to think of a removal. I am anxious to know what you have learnt of the gentleman at Boston, or whether you have heard of any other person, for we have no time to lose. With respect to the Liturgy, I think it may be finished soon; as I hope our gentlemen will be prevailed upon to defer the composition of the *particular offices* till we have a minister settled with us. We should have some family prayers at the end—one for Sunday morning, one for Sunday evening, one for either morning or evening, one when any of the members of a family are sick, a thanksgiving for recovery, and a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. If these were done, we could set about printing immediately. There appears to me but one objection of any weight against the Derby gentleman, which is his youth, and a little juvenile inattention to the dignity and importance of his character. He is an agreeable, ingenious man, and a good preacher. His name is Kirkpatrick. Mr. Hawks, of Birmingham, recommended him to Derby. Can you, in confidence, get Mr. Hawks's opinion of his abilities and character? I heard him preach both parts of the day, and had his company to Matlock; but never proposed anything of our design to him,

tho' I sounded his disposition to a removal, by proposing him to come to Liverpool and take a few gentlemen's sons under his care, which I found he would consent to, and I am endeavouring to get him a few scholars; tho' if upon consideration he should be thought fit for our main design, this must be dropt.

I wish much to hear from you, and am, with respects to Mr. Priestley and compliments to Mrs. Seddon, your most affectionate friend and humble servant, THOS. BENTLEY.

The letter that follows gives us an amusing instance of the effrontery of bigotry in Liverpool about a century ago.

Thomas Bentley, Esq., to Rev. John Seddon.

Liverpool, Nov. 2, 1762.

Dear and Rev. Sir,—I thank you for your short letter and the inclosed. I am glad the gentleman takes the thing into consideration, and desire to know something more of his mind as soon as you can communicate it.

At the general quarter sessions here the 25th ult., Mr. Clegg was to have got the chapel registered; but went out of town and left the business to a clerk, who was not prepared for any demur. One Mr. Topping, an attorney, stood up, and made a foolish and zealous harangue upon the subject, intimating that millions of souls might be damned by our means, as he had reason to believe we were *Arians*. And he gave them a history of Arius and his heresy, and shewed the necessity of Athanasianism, &c., and desired the gentlemen would not register for us. He was told by the Recorder that they would not refuse registering; but they put off the business for that time, under an excuse that our information must be given in writing, signed by some of ourselves, to which their certificate was to be of the nature of a reply. So the matter dropt; and nothing further can be done till the next quarter sessions, without we apply to the Archdeacon or Bishop.

We want something very much of the *chearing kind* to give us spirits, for we are not prepared for the least degree of persecution. I wish we had a little more zeal; and I wish something that will be in the next Review may not do us hurt, tho' it was well intended. I mean a *sham* recommendation of another Liturgy. Something should be wrote to praise our design and do us honour; and tho' the reviewers may speak of us favourably, yet I wish they had omitted one stroke, refer'd to above.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate friend, THOS. BENTLEY.

WHEN DID LUKE WRITE HIS GOSPEL AND THE ACTS?

IN considering the time when the Gospels were written, it appears to me that too much stress has generally been laid on tradition and the supposed evidence of early Christian writers, and too little attention paid to the evidence which may be derived from the books of the New Testament themselves. With respect to one of the Gospels at least, I think that the New Testament itself furnishes us with very strong evidence of the time when it was probably written. I mean the Gospel of St. Luke.

It is evident from the first four verses of this Gospel and the first verse of the Acts, that these two books were written by the same person, and that the Acts was written later than the Gospel. Again, from the last two verses of the Acts, I think it is almost certain that that book was written when Paul had been two years at Rome, and before the result of his appeal to the Emperor was decided. The Gospel of Luke, therefore, must have been written previously to this time, either during the earlier part of Paul's living in Rome, or during his imprisonment at Cæsarea. The latter supposition seems to me the most probable one, as then Luke would have the opportunity of consulting those "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word;" for that, from the Acts, appears to have been the only time when Luke was in Palestine. From the changes of the pronouns used to describe Paul and his companions from "they" to "we," and the reverse, we learn that Luke first joined Paul at Troas, Acts xvi. 8, 10; went with him to Philippi and stayed there, xvi. 17, xvii. 1; joined Paul again at Philippi on his return from Corinth to Jerusalem, and remained with him through all the time till the history of the Acts closes, xx. 5, to the end of the book. These circumstances seem to me to render it most probable that the Gospel of St. Luke was written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, and the book of Acts during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome. If this view be correct, the Gospel must have been written about the year 59, and the Acts about the year 62 or 63. The latter date seems to me almost certain, and the former most probable. At any rate, the Gospel must have been written before the book of Acts, and that can scarcely be attributed to a later date than the year 63. This reasoning from internal evidence seems to me much more to be depended on than the statements of the Fathers on this subject, for their statements appear to me to rest upon little more than conjecture.

T. C. Holland.

MONUMENT AND LIBRARY TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN POUNDS.

Sir,

In compliance with the wish of my beloved friends our Sunday-school teachers, I have the happiness of communicating to you, for the information of many contributors in very various and distant parts to the Monument and Library to the memory of John Pounds the philanthropist, that the Monument is now erected on his grave. It is simple, plain and dignified; standing about six feet high, three feet by three at the base, gradually narrowing upwards. The following inscription is on the south front:

"Underneath this Monument rest the mortal remains of John Pounds, the philanthropic Shoemaker, of St. Mary's Street, Portsmouth, who, while working at his trade in a very small room, gratuitously instructed in a useful education, and partly clothed and fed, some hundreds of girls and boys. He died suddenly, on New-Year's Day, MDCCCXXXIX., while in his active beneficence, aged LII. years.

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!

"Verily I say unto thee, inasmuch as thou hast done it unto one of the least of these, thou hast done it unto me."

On the east front is the following:

"This Monument has been erected chiefly by means of penny subscriptions, not only from the Christian Brotherhood with whom John Pounds habitually worshiped in the adjoining Chapel, but from persons of widely differing religious opinion throughout Great Britain, and from the most distant parts of the world.

"In connection with this monument has also been founded in like manner within these precincts a Library to his memory, designed to extend to an indefinite futurity the solid mental and moral usefulness to which the philanthropic Shoemaker was so earnestly devoted to the last day of his life.

"Pray for the blessing of God to prosper it."

Pleasant trees and shrubs are planted about the grave, and everybody that visits it seems deeply delighted.

The Treasurer of the Sunday-schools reported to the teachers at their recent annual meeting, that the money contributed was sufficient to pay all the expenses of the Monument, amounting to £14. 5*s*., and that there would be a balance left of a few shillings. On this pleasing intelligence, we proceeded, full of hope and sacred assurance for the future, to found the "John Pounds's Library." This was done by unanimously passing, in very few words, and with voices touchingly subdued, a resolution, "That the John Pounds's Library be now founded;" and when the Chairman, having taken the sense of the meeting, simply announced, with solemn depth of feeling, that this desired and inestimable testimonial was now founded, all rose in solemn silence, full of reverence for the good old man's memory, and inexpressibly thankful to God,—a short interval of stillness, not soon to be forgotten.

The two school libraries (one for the use of the scholars, the other more peculiarly a resource for the teachers) were then merged into the John Pounds's Library, as both teachers and scholars would have access as readily to this more extended resource for usefulness as to their own former ones; and the new institution was confided to the School Committee to bring it into working order. Several valuable parcels of well-selected books have already been sent for it from friends at a distance and far apart.

Allow me to add, that since you kindly announced for us this intended commemoration rather more than a year ago, all the contributions received from a distance have been regularly acknowledged, personally or by letter, except two anonymous ones, which, on behalf of the teachers, I am now requested to specify, for their own and the satisfaction of the unknown donors; one of them, dated "2, Davidge Terrace, Walcot Place, Kennington Road, London," and signed "E. C.," was addressed "To the Treasurer of the High-Street Sunday-Schools, Portsmouth," inclosing postage-stamps for half-a-crown; the other was addressed to myself, dated "Manningtree, Essex, April 2, 1854," with postage-stamps for five shillings; the writer, among other pleasing remarks, adds the following from Dr. Beard's Biographical Dictionary: "This good Samaritan has afforded not only an instance of the great good which the poor do to and for the poor, but gives an example of how much can be effected by the smallest resources when the heart is loving and the will determined."

HENRY HAWKES.

Southsea, Portsmouth, May 15, 1855.

REFLECTIONS SUITABLE TO TRINITY SUNDAY.

This Sunday is devoted in the National Church to the strange and unhallowed name of the Trinity; and a Creed is appointed to be read which I care not to designate as it deserves, a known forgery, a string of contradictions, and in the beginning and the end an anathema, an avowed curse and threat of eternal vengeance upon all that receive our Lord's declaration, that the Father is the only true God!

Tens of thousands of our countrymen have been this morning seduced by authority into the act of pronouncing the sentence of endless perdition upon the heads of those that adhere to the simplicity that is in Christ. But let us not be dismayed; let us rather console ourselves with the thought that they know not what they have been doing. They have, we think, mistaken the object of divine worship and violated Christian charity, but the greater part of them mean no hostility; they would do us good sooner than harm, and would hazard much to pluck us from the fate which their creed threatens. Nay, the majority have never examined the Creed, and if they were brought to confession would disavow their belief. Many have been silent to the responses of this relic of a barbarous age, and some have been secretly deploring that an act of intolerance should be enforced on men's consciences and thrust into the sanctuary to disturb the waters of comfort at their well-head.

Were it not so, consolation would not be wanting. We have learned from a great master of divine wisdom that *the curse causeless shall not come*. The gates of Heaven are shut against uncharitable prayers. And great reason have we to rejoice that our faith and profession will not allow us while we *bless God, to curse men, who are made after the similitude of God*, and that we own and submit to no authority which can enforce bigotry upon our lips, in spite of the remonstrances of our understandings and feelings.

Alas! that the idols of opinion should be set up in our temples, and that the altars on which they are worshiped should be lighted with *strange fire*, fire that never came down from Heaven! Many and striking, however, are the signs that the times of reformation are at hand; light is springing up above the horizon; and when the kingdom of Christ, the reign of light and love, is fully come, human creeds will fall and good affections rise; he that in his days of darkness repeated words learned from tradition, which, as far as they bore a meaning, wronged the character of the Father in Heaven, and glared with baleful aspect upon many a brother on earth, will, as soon as the day dawns upon his heart, open wide his eyes to the light of love; and, under the influence of the healing beams of Gospel charity, will say in his devotions, using the language of the two greatest of the apostles, and will hallow his house of prayer, and sanctify his sabbaths, and better his own heart, and bless his fellow-christians and fellow-creatures, by saying, Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him. Glory, honour and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile!

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans; with a Commentary and revised Translation, and introductory Essays. By Abiel Abbot Livermore. 12mo. Pp. 256. London—Whitfield. 1854.

The Commentaries on the Gospels and the Acts by the author of the present volume, are known to many in this country as plain and useful works, suitable for the instruction of young persons and for family reading. Regarded in this character, their fault is that of a somewhat too great diffuseness in parts, and a tendency to what some would term undue sermonizing. There will also be differences of opinion as to the commentator's apprehension and exposition of the meaning of passages, and we by no means think that he has always caught the true idea in his exposition of the parts of the New Testament referred to. We think the present work, on the whole, superior to the author's two previous volumes of the same kind; and to say this is to bestow upon it considerable praise. For it is a less difficult thing to expound the generally simple language of the historical books of the New Testament, than to appreciate adequately and explain to others the Epistles of Paul,—so strongly marked as the latter are by the individuality of the writer, and so full as they are of the local and temporary topics, controversies, interests of his own day.

The present work is introduced by four Essays, on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, the Epistles of the New Testament, the Apostle Paul, and the Epistle to the Romans. We have then the Epistle itself with the Commentary, and finally a revised Translation of the former. We are inclined to find fault with the author that he has not given us the revised translation in immediate connection with the Commentary, but has, instead, adopted as his text the common English version. This plan alone tends to a needless diffuseness; and besides this, a correct translation, as compared with an imperfect one, is in itself a valuable commentary.

In the introductory Essays, with a little occasional extravagance of language, we have an eloquent and interesting exposition of the author's views on the several subjects discussed. In the first of the series, without venturing positively to define Inspiration, he is contented with recognizing its presence in the Scriptures in some remarks, partly expository, partly apologetical, the moderate and sensible, yet comprehensive, spirit of which is fairly represented by the following extract:—

"The Scriptures we hold to be inspired, a specialty in literature, an authority in faith, 'the law of the spirit of life,'—a book which man, or men, could not have composed, collected and commissioned—one paramount key-note sounding from beginning to end—unless the writers had enjoyed an illumination superior to what Virgil received in writing his poems, Xenophon his histories, or Shakspeare his plays. But then the inspiration is not one in quantity, or one in quality throughout. It has rises and falls, lights and shadows, expansions and contractions of the divine element. So it is in the works of creation; why not then in the works of grace? We do not presume to tie up the Infinite Power to one mode of operation in matter; why should we in the yet more boundless realm of spirit? In this characteristic we submit the Bible is a natural book; it lies like fair Nature herself, vast, varied, unequal, beautiful, amazing, but holding an infinity of particulars subordinate

to the one grand strain. It is a book which steers clear of the common vanity of authors; one in which the writers claim little for themselves, but all for their subject,—are sometimes unknown,—do not override the freedom of man,—at times say they speak as men; but yet a book in which one harmonious and ever-brightening radiance of the religious sentiment shines, from Old to New, from Adam to Christ, and the idea of God, and man's duty to him, sit enthroned and sovereign. It is a history, poem, hymn, sermon, prophecy, argument, dialogue, essay, fiction, tragedy, and its sweep of variety is equal to its steadiness of aim. In such a state of things, to plant a genealogy from Chronicles side by side with the beatitudes, and to attempt to extract as much spiritual nutriment out of the sketches of the rude Philistines and Edomites as from the Epistles to the Corinthians, seems to be a confounding of all moral distinctions. The Canon has always been in discussion; some receiving more and others less; Luther stigmatizing the Epistle of James as an Epistle of straw, and Swedenborg rejecting those of Paul from the word of the Lord, as not of the highest authority and spirituality. Now we contend that the spiritual and vivifying power of the Scriptures is not impaired, but enhanced, by this various dealing with its contents, and this miscellaneous condition of the book itself. For man was not made to be most influenced by set rules, but by large principles; not by an abstract creed, confession or constitution, indited after the manner of a legal instrument, but by a mingling in one volume of all the methods of literary and moral composition. The very state of the Bible, which is objected to as invalidating its authority, is most favourable for awakening interest and inquiry, speaking to different stages of culture, and leaving human freedom inviolate. Each one calls that part best, which is best suited to his state of character. He reads what he affects. He calls that inspired which to him is inspiring, and he truly judges that the height of the cause must bear some proportion to the depth of the effect. So tenderly has the right of free judgment been respected, and so little has the human mind been overborne by the wisdom from on high, that thus far the major part of the Christian world is buried in Judaism, sticks to Moses and the Prophets, and has not yet reached Jesus and his glorious company of apostles, nor heard the angelic song of Glory to God, and peace on earth, nor the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, nor the prayer on the cross. But by the refining and reforming processes of Christian thought, Judaism is gradually waning from its supremacy, is chiefly valued as it stands connected with the Gospel as its antecedent, and because its records are the treasure-house of such unequalled strains of devotional poetry, golden sentences of wisdom, and sublime prophecies, while the Gospel is daily rising to its just sovereignty as the effectual instrument for the regeneration of the whole world."—Pp. 11—13.

In his second and third Essays, Mr. Livermore gives us, we think, a very full and true estimate of the value of the Epistles, and of the importance of the labours of the apostle Paul. We take the following passage from the former Essay, leaving untouched many points in this part of the volume which are equally worthy of notice:—

"It is noteworthy that the Epistles have two characteristics; namely, that they are local and temporary, at the same time that they are universal and perpetual. Like all things spontaneously and lyrically done, they were written with the best adaptation to Rome and Ephesus at that day, while they meet with full satisfaction the demands of the world, and of all time. Thus their specialty is their charm and forte, and their impress from the questions of that age their suitableness for all ages. For the difficulties and deficiencies of the churches and individuals addressed were of such a nature as to bring in turn most important principles into review, discussion and application, so that we here have what may be called the Handbook of the Christian Religion. The controversies cover the chief ground of opposition to the Gospel,

both among the Jews and the Gentiles; and if the writers did not enter into the Atheistic debate to prove that there is a God, or far into the Deistic one to prove that there is a Christ, it was because both facts were essentially taken for granted, and the real objections lay elsewhere. * * * The apostles, therefore, leaving the fields of mere speculative criticism and debate, where a handful will always doubt, and where almost unanimous humanity will believe in the monumental facts of revelation, moved all their forces to those practical points, where the real obstacles lay to the cordial reception of Christianity by the mass of mankind in Jewish and Heathen communities, and to its supremacy over their lives; and they executed this function so effectually, that in four centuries the religion of him who was hung upon the cross, and buried in a tomb, had ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and waved its sceptre over the known world.

"The Epistles are less intelligible to the men of another generation, because of their peculiar form as epistolary writings. They are the letters of only one side of the correspondence, and the messages, verbal or written, on the other side are sunk in oblivion. The peculiar state of things which called them forth is also a matter of mere inference or allusion. But what thus makes them harder to understand, makes them more individual, and piques our curiosity. For the odour and colour of the times, and nations, and places, are in them. They are savoured with Judæa, and they taste of Asia Minor and Greece. They daguerreotype in sunlit pictures the Christian movement in its varying phases, arrest it and perpetuate it in the young flow and flush of life, and give it to our view to-day as a piece of the granite reality of history. * * *

"This sweet and solemn antiquity, too, more than makes up for any obscurity, and it grows more hallowed and powerful as the ages roll away. For here are no crude speculations of yesterday, but the venerable thoughts of two thousand years ago. Could their authors have anticipated such a perpetuity, such a celebrity, such a stupendous influence in the world? Probably not; and it is well they wrote unconsciously and instinctively for greater and for longer than they themselves knew. Had they foreseen the result, that thought would have been a disturbing cause to their composition. Paul would have written less pertinently for Colosse, had he known he was writing for England and America in 1854. But doing best for that time, he did best for all time, and struck a chord which has vibrated in the heart of ages. This is no made-up and artificial immortality; no trick and artifice of men have kept these writings so long afloat, and saved them from falling into oblivion. They live and spread, and take to themselves the supremacy of the world, because it is their indefeasible right and title, and no power can say them nay. They have earned all they own."—Pp. 32—34.

The foregoing extracts will serve to indicate the intelligent and genial appreciation of Paul's language and ideas to be found in the Commentary itself, which forms the principal part of the volume before us. We do not, however, we must observe, meet in this part of the work with all that we could desire. Our author does not, for example, manifest the nice discrimination of the meanings of words, of which, with some over-refinement, we have so excellent an example in Mr. Trench's work on the Synonyms of the New Testament. We have met with instances in which the commentator neglects, or even inverts, distinctions established in that work; as in his notes on the words "wickedness" (πονηρια) and "maliciousness" (κακια) in Rom. i. 29.* So we miss in another pas-

* "We shall not err in saying that κακια is more the evil habit of mind, πονηρια rather the outcoming of the same."—Trench. Synonyms, p. 40. With this compare Mr. Livermore, who terms πονηρια (rendered *wickedness*), "malice, evil disposition;" and κακια (rendered *maliciousness*), "injurious treatment, a habit of doing mischief to others."

sage (iii. 25) the care that might have been expected in the note on the words, "faith in his blood." Is this, which gives us a phrase unparalleled in the rest of the New Testament, the proper collocation and rendering of the words? Or should we not rather read, "whom God hath set forth a propitiation, *through faith, by his blood*," as taken by the late Dr. J. P. Smith and by other authorities? Mr. Livermore apparently accepts the common construction of the words, without being aware that any other is possible, although some of the authors, editors and commentators, enumerated as consulted by him in the preparation of his work, would certainly have given him the information. The question, too, whether a large part of the last five chapters may not have been really an Epistle to the Ephesians, and one or two other questions connected with the closing chapters, might have claimed some notice even in a popular Commentary. Yet, notwithstanding little omissions like these, which as good critics we are bound in duty to point out, we would wish to be understood as commending this work to our readers, as, on the whole, a useful popular Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

Life according to the Pattern in the Heavens. A Sermon preached at Huddersfield, Dec. 21, 1854, *at the Opening of the Unitarian Church, Fitzwilliam Street.* By James Martineau. Pp. 21. London—Theobald.

Many readers will rejoice to have this beautiful discourse in their possession. It has already been characterized in our pages, and we shall now content ourselves with justifying the high praise we have awarded it by one or two extracts.

Worship congenial to man's higher nature.

"Whoever truly worships, pouring out the prayer, not of interest and fear, nor chiefly of personal gratitude, but of aspiration, reverence and trust, feels irresistibly assured that he is yielding to no weakness, but is falling into the attitude congenial to higher natures. The fervour whose flush is on him he knows to be nobler than his common mood, and so tending upwards that, as he rises, it will glow the more: and minds, if such there be, that occupy that upper station now, and are less far from the clear face of God, must be not of paler and colder devotion but of richer and intenser hues. And though he cannot see into any upper world and point to the sanction of its adoring ranks, yet is there not enough even here to make this feeling no vain presumption? Can it be denied that the deep sense of God is a haunting accompaniment of the deepest and grandest men?—that, however it may coexist with weakness, and absent itself without forfeiture of a certain stormy force, it is ever inseparable from the large and balanced soul, the spring at once of tenderness and strength? Whatever is wise or strong or loving enough in this world to outlast the changes of human admiration will be found to have the tincture of intense Faith. The nation which has most affected the fates of mankind has done so by giving them a Christ. And in each nation, the highest men, whether in thought or action, Socrates, Scipio, Dante, Luther, Pascal, Cromwell, Newton, have not attained their great dimensions without bearing a divine secret in their souls: they have been men of trust and prayer; and, familiar with an Infinite Presence, have attained the stature which throws so grand a shadow over history. Take away from these minds their religion; reduce the philosophers among them to their dialectics and mathematics, the generals to their strategy, the poet to his skill in epic *fiction;* suppose them to think, to act, to sing, for secular profit and entertainment, and not for truth and justice dear eternally to God; and do you not cut out

the very pith of their genius and character? Be assured, all visible greatness of mind grows in looking at an invisible that is greater. And since it is inconceivable that what is most sublime in humanity should spring from vision of a thing that is not,—that what is most real and commanding with us should come of stretching the soul into the unreal and empty, that historic durability should be the gift of spectral fancies, we must hold these devout natures to be at One with everlasting Fact,—to feel truly that the august forms of Justice and Holiness are at home in heaven, the object there of clearer insight and more perfect veneration. There are those who please themselves with the idea that the world will outgrow its habits of worship; that the newspaper will supersede the preacher and prophet; that the apprehension of scientific laws will replace the fervour of moral inspirations; that this sphere of being will then be perfectly administered when no reference to another distracts attention. But for my own part I am persuaded, that life would soon become intolerable on earth, were it copied from nothing in the Heavens; that its deeper affections would pine away and its lights of purest thought grow pale, if it lay shrouded in no Holy Spirit, but only in the wilderness of space. The most sagacious secular voice leaves after all a chord untouched in the human heart: listening too long to its didactic monotone, we begin to sigh for the rich music of hope and faith. The dry glare of noonday knowledge hurts the eye by plying it for use and denying it beauty; and we long to be screened behind a cloud or two of moisture and of mystery, that shall mellow the glory and cool the air. Never can the world be less to us, than when we make it all in all."—Pp. 11—14.

Men not professedly religious offer a tacit worship.

"There are men of whom you cannot speak as being conspicuously religious; who even present a nature hard and unimpressible to the appeals of devout sentiment and doctrine; whom a sluggish imagination and a genius too much entangled in practical affairs may embarrass with doubts and perplexities in positive religion:—but whose cheek burns at a tale of injustice; who turn away with loathing from meanness and cruelty; whose word is a rock, rooted in the very substance of the world; who are stirred to their inmost depths by the spectacle of heroic honour and incorruptible fidelity; and who themselves win from others, if not noisy admiration, yet the silent trust and steady dependence which are yielded only to moral strength and wisdom. Are these men then without religion? Is there nothing which prevails over them with truly godlike power? Deficient as their creed may be, and little as they may kindle at the name of God, they too are not without their worship, though you may deny it the name and they themselves would be the last to call it so. They follow through life an unspeakable image of justice and veracity, which shines upon them as entirely divine; which subdues them with silent admiration; commands the current of their blood and the fountain of their tears; and makes their firm-knit manhood pliant and tender as a child before the appeal of injured right or generous sacrifice. They may *say* nothing of the viewless ideal that draws them hither and thither by the beckoning finger of the Right and Good: they may not even put it before them, so as to know that it is there: they may seem to be engaged only with worldly transactions, to have no taste or capacity for spiritual concerns, and spend themselves wholly on their home, their business, or the council-chamber of affairs: but all the while there is a secret worship of their heart, that directs the labour of their hands and the very courses of their thought; and which shows itself in the order of their house, the stability of their concerns, the rectitude of their administration, and their willingness, notwithstanding an economic taste, to sacrifice in the State material to moral ends. There may be in such men ever so much natural dumbness,—a turbid flow of tumbled thoughts,—an apparant want of colour and clearness in all their words: but it is only that all their high devout art is spent upon their life itself, in cutting out its ada-

mant into a shape that may stand without shame beneath the sky, and represent the naked truth and goodness of the universe. They are haunted with a genuine though unconfessed reverence, which is really master of the soul, and whose suggestions their Will, as the skilled labourer, is ever striving to express. Theirs is Religion in a secondary and less conscious state; more akin to instinct and less involved into definite belief and rational thought; less elevated therefore and nobly human than the religion of clear and open eye, that knows what it worships, yet worships with enthusiasm none the less. But religion it still is; an actual faith in the just, and true, and good, as the Divine eternal Law and base of God's universe, more solid than men can stir, more real than all appearance. And in constructing their life upon this model, they frame it by an Image on the Mount, whose severe beauty is secure above human reach."—Pp. 14—17.

Christ the revealed Pattern to man.

"In different ages, a different pattern is shown to his prophets on the Mount; always what is fairer and more august than can be seen in the restless plain of life below; but not always greater than prophets yet to come may see when the eye of the soul has been strengthened for more resplendent things. The Jewish Tabernacle was perhaps not, in itself and for ever, the most beautiful of objects; * * * but it was at any rate fairer and richer than aught else around, and was unique among the tents of Israel. And their later Zion, as her own minstrel sung, was still 'the perfection of beauty.' Yet God has reserved still better things for us; and another object draws our perception than the smoke of altars and the vestments of priests. The Soul of Christ, the sinless, risen, and immortal, is the pattern shown to us; shown first upon the field of history, and on the paths of this living world, and then taken to the heavens, to look down thence on the uplifted eye of faith and love through successive generations. Towards that likeness it is that *you* aspire; not forgetting that even this is not the ultimate of good, but itself a Tabernacle of the Holy of holies, an expression of the Highest of all,—the '*Image* of the invisible God.'"—Pp. 20, 21.

Notes on Duels and Duelling, alphabetically arranged; with a Preliminary Historical Essay. By Lorenzo Sabine. Crown 8vo. Pp. 394. Boston—Crosby, Nichols and Co. 1855.

This book contains many narratives that are undeniably interesting. We have no doubt whatever that Mr. Sabine drew it up in order to discountenance the irrational and horrible practice of duelling, and yet we doubt whether it will altogether produce the effect he desires. Like the "Newgate Calendar," it may, by exciting curiosity, almost insensibly provoke imitation. As an American, Mr. Sabine is somewhat eager to shew that there are few atrocities growing out of single combat in America, that have not had English precedents. But the practical question is, what is the present practice? what the state of public sentiment? We fear there is little reason for doubting that men are now walking free in the streets of American cities who would have been long ago hung for murder, and whose punishment would here have created no sympathy, had they lived and fought in England. Indeed, we know not where to find more revolting pictures than this volume contains of bloodthirstiness and cruelty.

INTELLIGENCE.

BOLTON HALF-YEARLY DISTRICT UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

The spring meeting of this Association was held at Rochdale on Thursday, the 26th of April. It had been arranged that the religious service should take place in the old chapel in Blackwater Street, where the descendants of the original congregation of Nonconformists continue to assemble for Unitarian worship. The date of the building is not exactly known; but it is certain that three of the Bartholomean divines, —two of whom were ejected from the vicarage in this town, and the other from Holcomb chapel,—were the first Presbyterian pastors. Among their immediate successors, may be mentioned the names of the Rev. Joseph Dawson, one of the celebrated Morley family; Rev. John Owen,* the terror of the Non-jurors and High-churchmen; and Rev. Thomas Threlkeld, who was endowed with so wonderful a memory, that his biographer describes him as "a perfect living concordance to the Scriptures. You could not mention three words, except, perhaps, those words of mere connection which occur in hundreds of passages, to which he could not immediately, without hesitation, assign the chapter and verse where they were to be found. And, inversely, upon mentioning the chapter and verse, he could repeat the words."† Within the walls consecrated by the preaching of several, if not all, of these venerable men, a numerous and respectable congregation assembled on this occasion. The introductory part of the service was impressively performed by Rev. Brooke Herford, of Todmorden. A discourse of an elevated cast of thought was delivered by Rev. T. E. Poynting, of Monton. He remarked that the one great and arduous work for all of us was to carry on our spiritual or Christian life. The one great aim of the preacher must be to help us in this work, and this, he thought, could be best done by simply looking into his own life, finding what seemed truest and holiest there, telling us what it was, and by what means it was supported. He, however, endeavoured to escape the narrowness of individualism by aiming to be catholic, speaking from that deep human nature common to all. The principles at the basis of Unitarianism were the recognition of the divine, the strictly providential in the New Testament; and the recognition of the divine, the providential, intended to guide and govern us in the highest leadings of human nature, the laws of its reason, its moral instincts and aspirations. These two principles conjoined, necessarily led to a Unitarian creed. These two principles, the preacher stated, were as the light and air in which his religious faith found room and nutriment. But of the two, he confessed the latter—the divine in human nature—was the nearest to him. From this he started, and thus arrived at the divine in the New Testament. The preacher said he found in his own experience four great thoughts which, as far as he could judge, gave him most inspiration and help in his spiritual life. 1st, the inherent nobleness of the higher impulses; 2nd, their source in God; 3rd, their promise of immortality; 4th, their confirmation and glorification by all the noblest minds of our race. Time enabled the preacher to deal with the two first only. 1st. He said there was a nobleness in the loftier stirrings of our nature altogether wanting to the humbler. The realization of this nobleness gave an idea of great power in inspiring the mind to obey them. And vague as it seemed, the preacher believed it was the very common daylight of all virtue, and that all theological doctrines were invested with moral power only as they concentrated or reflected it. 2nd. The thought of the source of these impulses in God added infinite force to this thought of their nobleness. The preacher referred to the consciousness of the spiritual mind in every age,—Socrates, Plato, the Hebrew prophets, Christ,—that the spiritual movings, came in upon us from beyond the circle of our consciousness. He shewed the fallacy of the Secularist notion that we know nothing beyond the material; and of the Pantheist notion, that we do not know God to be Mind. The preacher then illustrated the power of this idea of the besetting and inspiring God upon the moral life, and concluded by saying, that although he felt the

* We have reasons for believing that the name of the Rochdale minister was *Josiah* Owen.—Ed. C. R.

† See Appendix to a Sermon on his death by Dr. Barnes. Also Mon. Repos., II. 161.

truths of which he was speaking as absolute truths of the human spirit, he gratefully and reverently confessed that it was to Christ he owed it that he could find them there. The soul by which he thought and felt was the result of eighteen centuries of spiritual development begun by Christ. And Christ was still a divine influence by which these truths were confirmed and the divine life was quickened.

Arrangements had been made for holding the social evening meeting at the chapel in Clover Street, which is so conveniently adapted for such a gathering. The attendance exceeded two hundred, inclusive of the friends from Bury, Todmorden, Bolton and other places. The friendly intercourse which arises from these half-yearly assemblings, is not the least of their attractions. The hour devoted to tea diffuses around the tables a spirit of gladness highly favourable to the objects of the meeting. On this occasion, all seemed to sympathize with the pleasure displayed by the two congregations in this their first reception of the Association. Robert Taylor Heap, Esq., who presided, gave expression to this feeling in welcoming the members of the half-yearly meeting to Rochdale, and it was warmly responded to by all the meeting. Nine ministers were present, namely, Revds. W. Smith, J. Wilkinson, T. E. Poynting, Brooke Herford, John Wright, F. Knowles, J. Cropper, M. C. Frankland and F. Baker, and all addressed the meeting. The topics were such as are usually made prominent on such occasions, and may be characterized as spirited, practical and useful. All the speakers seemed to keep in view that the design of such meetings is primarily to strengthen the ties of Nonconformity, and to awaken a pure religious life in our congregational institutions. Several allusions were made to the prospect of a new chapel being erected in Blackwater Street on the site of the old one, and the best wishes of the meeting for the completion of the undertaking were emphatically expressed. Between the speeches, the choir, accompanied by the organ, sang several hymns and part of the National Anthem with considerable effect.

At the close of the proceedings, the Secretary announced that the autumn meeting would be held at Monton, on Thursday, the 11th of October, when the Rev. W. Smith, of Rochdale, would be the preacher. F. B.

MR. MADGE'S LECTURE TO THE SECULARISTS.

The *Reasoner* of May 20, gives this candid account of Mr. Madge's recent lecture:

"The fifth lecture was delivered by the Rev. Thomas Madge, who explained what he considered to be the 'Christian View of Human Life and Destiny.' He refused to be held responsible for the deformed opinions current on the subject. The ascetic view, which is deprecatory of attention to this life, was not sanctioned by Christianity. Scriptural passages in condemnation of this life were only intended to rebuke the selfish tendencies of human nature, while the passages referring to another life are designed to give us elevated inspirations.

"Theorists, from Plato to William Godwin, have invented schemes of societies—but not capable of application—effecting no reform, changing no character, and leaving no trace behind. But Christianity had vivified life; and with respect to human destiny, we had only to admit a future life, and the problem was solved. Confining ourselves to this life, we find that vice does not always suffer nor virtue always succeed. We were, therefore, driven to entertain the theory of the future as a means of moral encouragement of this life. Silent justice or unobtrusive benevolence could not be sustained without the recognition of some higher destiny.

"Mr. Madge treated the policy of religious belief with boldness and earnestness. We give a very inadequate indication of the lecture, which was charmingly expressed, spoken in the silveriest of voices, and delivered with remarkable energy.

"The audience on this night was larger than on any preceding, and warmly appreciated Mr. Madge's oration."

CHURCH-RATE BILLS.

The Bill introduced by Sir Wm. Clay for the abolition of Church-rates has so far prevailed over the opposition offered to it in the House of Commons, including (strange to say!) that of Lord Palmerston, at the head of a *liberal* government. That the measure will be allowed to pass the House of Lords, is scarcely probable at present. Every Unitarian congregation should petition immediately on the subject. The fol-

lowing Petition, signed by the Mill-Hill congregation, appears to us singularly just and true.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:

The humble Petition of the undersigned, assembling for public worship in the Mill-Hill Chapel, Park Row, Leeds:

Sheweth,

That your petitioners regard with much satisfaction a Bill now before Parliament for the entire abolition of Church-rates.

That your petitioners, residing in a borough in which for many years no Church-rates have been levied, and where the requisite funds, not only for the repairs of the parish church, but also for the entire rebuilding of one of the most noble edifices in the kingdom, have been provided by voluntary contributions, are earnestly desirous that the blessings which they *de facto* enjoy, may, by the passing of a general measure, be legally secured and extended to every portion of the United Kingdom.

That your petitioners bear their willing testimony to the happy results which have attended this exemption from Church-rates in this large and populous district,—results which have evinced themselves in the total absence of all religious feuds and contests, in the kindly feeling existing among the various religious denominations, and in their readiness cordially to co-operate for the promotion of every philanthropic and charitable movement. Your petitioners are fully convinced that similar beneficial results would manifest themselves throughout the kingdom, if it should please the Legislature to sanction the Bill now before your Honourable House for the entire abolition of Church-rates; and that thus the cause of Religion and harmony among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and loyalty and attachment towards Her Majesty's Government, would be essentially promoted.

Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House forthwith to pass the said Bill for the total abolition of Church-rates.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Contemporaneously with the measure of Sir W. Clay, another Church-rate Bill has been introduced into the House of Lords by no less a personage than the Archbishop of Canterbury. The two Bills are of very opposite character; and whatever the amount of good in them, neither appears to us quite free from defects.

Entirely abolishing Church-rates (except in parishes where money has been borrowed under the authority of a local Act), the Bill of Sir W. Clay provides as a substitute, voluntary contributions and the appropriation of two-thirds of the pews or seats in the parish church, at such annual rent as "the parishioners or inhabitants of any parish in vestry assembled" shall see fit to fix. This mode of procuring funds in lieu of a compulsory rate seems natural and proper enough: our objection is to the machinery proposed for the purpose. "Inhabitants in vestry" include equally Dissenters and Churchmen. What business have the former to take part in settling the amount of pew-rent which Churchmen shall pay, or with the application of the money thus to be obtained, after their pockets and consciences are relieved from the Church-rate grievance? Affecting Churchmen alone, in the hands of Churchmen alone should all the arrangements for their own worship be left. As soon as ever the law limits the burden of Church expenses to its own members, it is surely bound to protect them from any, the slightest, interference on the part of those who bear none of the burden. We conclude this feature of the Bill was overlooked by its framers. Yet, besides that of Sir W. Clay, Mr. Miall's name appears at the back of it; and it has been sanctioned by the Dissenting Deputies. They could never mean to get rid of one valid ground of complaint by creating another equally valid.

The Bill of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury is of a less comprehensive nature. It declares it to be "desirable to alter and amend the law relating to Church-rates," and proposes to effect the alteration in this way. Parishes refusing to make a Church-rate (and only such are contemplated by the measure) are to be "subject to the provisions of this Act," and "released from all and every obligation to which they are now by law liable to raise a rate for the repair of the church." But this "release" (after a parish has practically "released" itself!) is to be followed by the extinction of the existing vestry, and the creation in its stead of a new one, styled "Church vestry," to consist of—1st, the incumbent and his curate or curates; 2nd, such inhabitants, being 21 years of age, as shall have "partaken of the holy communion" in the parish church or chapel of ease three times during the year; all owners of property who

shall have charged their estates with payment of Church-rates, and their heirs after them, if they consent to continue the payment and are members of the Church of England; and, 3rd, all inhabitants who shall bind themselves to pay their quota of Church-rate for the two years next succeeding. In every such parish, two Churchwardens are to be annually appointed—one by the incumbent, the other by the Church vestry — "and no other Churchwardens shall be appointed for such parish." The vestry and Churchwardens thus created and appointed are to have power to make and assess a Church-rate on all persons rated to the Poor-rate in the parish who shall be members of the Church vestry, and to apply the funds thus obtained to the ordinary purposes of a Church-rate. Any member of the Church vestry may withdraw from it, and discontinue his payments to the rate, on giving the Churchwardens notice to that effect. Arrears of rate are to be recoverable, not in the Ecclesiastical, but in the County Court. And every church and consecrated chapel in the district is to be deemed an independent parish church, possessed of the same power as the mother church of the parish, to which the separate districts shall no longer be liable to contribute.

Such is the Archbishop's mode of "amending" existing Church-rate law. It simply provides a substitute where the present mode of procuring a rate has failed. It does nothing whatever to put a stop to all the excitement and ill-blood which Church-rate contests now generate. When parishes have year after year fought their annual battle, and the Church is at last vanquished, this measure is to come in aid, and soften as much as possible the inconveniences of defeat—inflicting at the same time some annoyance on the defeaters in the loss of popular vestry privileges. Does his Grace mean that only one vestry, the so-called "Church," shall exist in these recusant parishes? On whom, then, will devolve various matters, of a public and parochial nature, with which existing vestries have to do? And if his "Church"-wardens be the only ones, by whom will many civil duties which now devolve on these officials hereafter be performed? We should imagine the framers of both these Church-rate Bills have but little practical knowledge of the constitution of parish vestries, or of the various matters with which, in some places, they have to deal.

We must confess our disappointment at the Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill. Better for him not to have meddled with the matter at all, than simply prepare a salve for an irritating social sore, without any attempt to apply an effectual remedy. His measure is merely a sort of Chancellor-of-the-Exchequer scheme for raising fresh ways and means—as if, in Church ethics, Cash were everything, and "Peace and Good-will among men" nothing. Church and Dissent, his Grace practically says, fight your battles as long and as hotly as you like—only, whichever party win, the Church must not *lose!* Not in this character should the venerable, and we hope deservedly venerated, Head of the English Church appear before his countrymen.

The Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire will be held this year at Liverpool, and will, it is expected, prove one of more than usual interest. The circumstance that the meeting is held at Renshaw-Street chapel, of which Mr. Channing is the temporary minister, will give a natural opportunity to the ministers of the north-western portion of England to welcome amongst them this able and eloquent representative of a very distinguished name. Great preparations are being made on the part of the Unitarian laity of Liverpool to make this meeting agreeable and successful. In addition to the usual meetings, there will be, we understand, a private social gathering immediately after the more public proceedings of the Assembly, at the house of one of the members of the Renshaw-Street congregation; and on the evening of the following day, there will be a public soirée on a large scale, to be held in the school-room attached to the Hope-Street church.

It is also hoped that much interest will attach to the meetings connected with the West-Riding Tract Society at Huddersfield, and Manchester New College in London.

OBITUARY.

Feb. 26, at Fleet, in the county of Lincoln, Mr. Stanger, aged 100 years. He was born August 1, 1754. For sixty years he had been the principal and respected member of the Unitarian Baptist church at Lutton. Strong religious feeling, and an earnest search for religious truth, led him to renounce the "orthodox" faith, and separate from the General Baptist church in the village of Fleet, of which he was a valuable and highly respected member and deacon. Although his change involved no loss of worldly substance, he was obliged to sacrifice, what association and experience had made to him of inestimable value, religious sympathy among all the members of his family, and, with few exceptions, the circle of his acquaintance. The bitterest foes of his faith were indeed those of his own house.

Mr. Stanger found his religious principles, false as he once, and his friends still, deemed them, sufficient for support in all trial. In sickness and in health, in the full vigour of manhood and the decline of old age, he rejoiced in the Unitarian faith, and among his old friends, in many sharp discussions, proved himself a vigorous and efficient defender of it. He was universally esteemed for his single-mindedness and uprightness of life. His last years were clouded by misfortune in his family, which served to shew his fine sense of honour and integrity. Although not legally compelled, he surrendered the whole of his property, on which he had for many years been comfortably retired, to meet demands occasioned by the misfortune and imprudence of others. Ultimately he became destitute, when his son-in-law, the Rector of the parish, kindly and liberally provided for him. He was exposed, however, within the last two years of his life, to a severe trial in the loss of his benefactor, at the same time that he had to deplore the death of his only surviving child. But his confidence in the goodness, and his resignation to the will, of God never forsook him. In a letter to a friend, when in the 100th year of his age, he says, "I have the unhappiness to inform you that I have lost my last and only child, at the age of 67, so that I compare myself to the trunk of an old tree with all its branches lopped off, and they have been ten in number. All gone before me! Oh, how mysterious are the ways of God! But still all is well, and I must soon follow. I am, however, happy and thankful to say I continue to enjoy good health, and every other good that can render life a blessing." The support Mr. Stanger had received was generously continued to the close of his life by the son-in-law and successor of the late Rector.

On completing his 100th year, the event was celebrated by a public fête in the village, and 150 persons of all classes sat down to a substantial dinner in a field lent for the occasion. The venerable patriarch, seated in a car with the Rev. J. Cooper, the Unitarian minister, and another friend, rode from his house to the field, where he was received with three hearty cheers. The worthy Rector gave out a verse, which was sung by the company; and while they were engaged at dinner, Mr. S. rode round the party, fully participating in their joyous feeling.

This life of habitual cheerfulness and goodness was now drawing to its close, and the end was agreeable to its blameless course. Mr. Stanger retained his faculties to the last. He was confined to his bed not more than half a day. Just before his death, he was visited by his medical attendant, and, when he had reached the door on leaving, Mr. S. called him back to inquire for an old friend, some ten years his junior, but who laboured under considerable infirmity. In less than two hours he quietly breathed his last. He had lived a long, virtuous and pious life, and his end was peace. Only those who knew him can form a just estimate of his deep religious feeling and the earnestness with which he maintained his faith, which he liberally supported as long as he had the means. His life and death are ample refutation of the slander that it affords no consolation in affliction and the hour of dissolution. In sickness, bereavement, misfortune and death, he proved his faith and found it all-sufficient.

March 6, at her residence, the Oaks, near Leicester, Elizabeth Grundy, in her 81st year, relict of the late Joshua Grundy, Esq., of the same place. She was a descendant of the family of the Russells, distinguished by their zeal

and sufferings in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Her uncle was Mr. William Russell, an intimate friend and fearless supporter of Dr. Priestley at the time of the Birmingham riots in 1791. Although the same cannot be said of some others, the Russells have always remained firm in their adherence to the principles of their fathers: perhaps persecution contributed to strengthen their attachment to them. The deceased was remarkably quiet and retiring in her temper, and unostentatious in her habits,—not fond of display, modest and gentle in her demeanour. Much, of course, is to be ascribed to natural disposition; but something also must be placed to the account of religious principles early instilled and carefully cultivated. Though living at a distance of five miles, she attended her usual place of worship, the Great Meeting, Leicester, with great regularity, till within a few weeks of her death; and when we consider the weakness of our common nature, the influence of wealth, and the seductions of the world, this habit implies a force of character and of principle deserving of admiration. Our departed friend was remarkable for sympathy, kindness, generosity. She had more pleasure in giving than in accumulating, which is a rare and noble quality, and eminently primitive and Christian. Her heart and her purse were always open to the calls of charity, to the relief of destitute ministers, and of congregations wanting support; and it is the character of charity, where trained in the Christian school, not "to let the left hand know what the right hand doeth." Such was hers. "Blessed is he (or she) that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him, or her, in the time of trouble." No church is wanting in characters of this description, however erroneous their creed may be; and let no orthodox zealot presume to say that our denomination has not been adorned by many examples of Christian humility, piety and charity. These are of the true church of which Christ is the living Head, the everlasting Shepherd, and for whom he has gone to prepare mansions of light and purity and peace for evermore.

April 2, at Framlingham, in the 25th year of her age, RACHEL, the third and much-beloved daughter of Mr. C. WOOLNOUGH, and niece of the Rev. Thomas Cooper. She was never of a strong constitution, but during the last thirteen years of her life she was greatly afflicted, and her sufferings, which seldom ceased, were often severe and of long continuance. But she bore every pain and privation with the greatest fortitude and the most entire resignation to the Divine will. She was never known to complain, and was justly regarded by all her numerous friends and neighbours as a remarkable example of patience and submission, under circumstances of no ordinary character. Though entirely cut off at so early a period from those prospects and enjoyments which are so cheering and encouraging to all right-minded young people, and sensible that a premature dissolution awaited her, she never questioned the good providence of God. She valued life, but she did not fear death. She believed in God and in his Son Jesus Christ, and looked forward with enlightened and firm faith to another and a better state. Her disposition, always amiable and excellent, ripened under suffering and sickness, and seemed brought to perfection in the last days of her earthly existence. She was greatly beloved and respected by all who knew her. She was buried in the cemetery attached to the Old meeting-house in the above town, within whose hallowed walls she attended the worship of the one true God from her earliest days, until her infirmities rendered it impossible for her to quit the sick couch. This event took place exactly one fortnight after the remains of her grandmother, the late Mrs. Woolnough, who departed this life March 20th, in the 92nd year of her age, were deposited in the same consecrated spot.

T. C.

April 6, at Torquay, Devonshire, in the 19th year of her age, ELIZABETH, eldest daughter of Henry RIDGE, Esq., of Clapton, and granddaughter of the late Rev. Robert Aspland, of Hackney.

April 6, at Notting Hill, aged 88, Rev. MICHAEL MAURICE, formerly minister of the Unitarian chapel, Frenchay, and father of the Rev. Frederick Maurice, the founder of the People's College in London. Some account of Mr. Maurice is prepared for our next No.

April 13, aged 57, Mr. MICHAEL RAISBECK, of Arkindale, near Richmond, Yorkshire. He had been a member of the Unitarian (Free Church)

at Arkindale, of which his brother is the minister, from its commencement.

April 23, in his 63rd year, JOHN COOKE, Esq., of Belle Croft, Newport, Isle of Wight. Descended from a long line of Nonconformist ancestry, whose names stand prominent among the founders and supporters of liberal Dissent in Newport, he was warmly attached to the principles he inherited, and ever cordially upheld the cause of civil and religious liberty. Like his esteemed father, William Cooke, Esq.,* who was educated at New College, Hackney (where he was fellow-student of the Rev. John Kentish), he was an only son, and received the great advantage of a collegiate education. And well would it be if such advantage were more frequently sought by Unitarian Dissenters in the present day. Mr. John Cooke always gratefully acknowledged the benefits he derived from his revered tutors during the three years he spent at Manchester College, York. Among his fellow-students were Professor Wallace, Dr. Hutton, Geo. Kenrick, Mardon, Howse and Brettell, to each of whom he had the opportunity of giving his glad welcome in the Isle of Wight. He evinced the benefit of his collegiate course by his literary tastes, which were a source of great enjoyment to him through life. He was a liberal supporter of the British School and the chapel Sunday School, and published for the use of the young persons attending the Unitarian chapel, Newport, an address on the *Duty of Prayer*. He also took a lively interest in the Athenæum and Mechanics' Institute, of which he was for many years one of the Vice-Presidents, contributing freely to its library, and delivering not unfrequently lectures on History and Belles Lettres. He was in politics a stanch Reformer, and no consideration ever induced him to swerve from the strictest fidelity to those just principles which regard "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the aim of all enlightened government. Yet was the firm consistency of his political opinions so tempered by his habitual kindliness and courtesy, that he never made an enemy by the freest expression of his sentiments. And oft was the discord generated by minor differences among his own political friends forgiven and forgotten at his hospitable board. Peace to his memory! will be the hearty ejaculation of many a friend, both rich and poor—an aspiration which is warmly breathed by him who gratefully records, that during the thirty-two years of intercourse with him as pastor and friend, no expression, no word towards himself, but of kindness ever passed from his lips. Long time had internal disease, borne with much patience, and which finally proved fatal, incapacitated him from all public business. He was tenderly attached to his family, nor is it improbable that the almost sudden death, from typhus, of his younger daughter (wife of Dr. C. Blake, of Torquay), might have aggravated his complaint. An inflammatory seizure during his temporary sojourn at Norwood, Surrey, excited the apprehension of immediate dissolution. His only surviving son, Wm. Major Cooke, barrister-at-law, and an only remaining daughter, were able to watch by him in his last days of illness, and to be their mother's comfort in her hour of trouble. E. K.

April 28, in her 50th year, after an illness of only four days, EMILY, the wife of the Rev. Samuel BACHE, of the New Meeting-house, Birmingham. She was a daughter of the late Rev. Edward Higginson, of Derby.

Bereavements such as this, which carry off the most active and beloved, and, to our view, the most valuable lives, in the midst of their usefulness and power, are among the greatest trials of our faith. We feel that we cannot spare them so soon; and that the world also needs them for its good, as much as we do for our happiness. But such trials also necessitate, while they try, our faith; and, coming as they do direct from the Heavenly Father's hand, they lead us to look upward, and, even while "dumb with silence," to reflect, "THOU hast done it."

But a life so precious and so dear to family and friends, is not lost to them when thus sadly withdrawn from outward sight. Full of gentlest feelings and meek but high purposes,—cherishing an ardent love for the beauties of nature, an earnest aspiration after intellectual improvement, and a refined taste for high art, which in one of its departments she had cultivated with a success which those who ever listened to the sweet and touching

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* Vide Christian Reformer, Vol. II. p. 146.

strains called forth by her gifted hand will never forget, and which she was ever ready to employ for the instruction and delight of others, even of the children of the poor—affectionate, conscientious and devout,—the subject of this notice wielded an influence of which she was herself modestly unconscious, but which was felt and acknowledged by the hearts and minds of the large family and household who looked up to her as mother and as directress, and of the very wide circle who knew her as their own friend and their pastor's true helper. One of these says of her, with womanly perception and earnestness, "I have just sustained a heavy loss in my dear friend Mrs. Bache, one of the best of beings. If I only saw her for a moment in a walk, I felt the better for it for days."

Of all the treasures that this earth contains,—and these are treasures not of earth only,—what can we set in comparison with the affections of home and friendship? What so precious to the heart through life, as its love of parents, brothers and sisters? This is the rich inheritance especially given to us through those meek and gentle spirits which shrink from the more public scenes of action and enjoyment, cherishing a sweet love of all earth's simple, natural and innocent delights, and concentrating their interest upon family and home. Woman's reign is there; and when it is a reign of love and meekness, she is sovereign indeed over willing hearts. It is there, and through such power as hers, that "Heaven lies about us in our infancy." It is there, and through such gentle power of the mother, that her sons grow to a manliness at once gentle and strong, having its depth in sensitiveness to what is right and kind. It is there, and through the sweet infection of her meek womanhood, that her daughters grow into her likeness, to spread her gentle influence further around. It is there that some qualities least like her own for their masculine strength, harmonize with hers, affectionately yielding up somewhat of their natural persistency and giving all their natural strength in reverent and loving aid of her sweet will. It is there that even death can but seal with new sanctity the life-lessons which cannot die. For when the meek are called to inherit the land of heavenly promise, we feel that their Assumption (true word is this!) does not separate us from them. Our hearts cannot lose them, though our bodily eyes may see their form no more. And whether our hearts rise to them and breathe the air of heaven, or bring them back to their loved haunts among us with their heavenly radiance around them, either way we mix the heaven of our faith with the earth of our present duty. And this is what God wills in our sorrow. These are the true saints of the heart; the angels of the Christian's home; the Lares and Penates of his family love and reverence. Through these, he communes with God and heaven more frequently than before. For the sake of these, he loves the gospel heaven more tenderly than he could without them. For the sake of these, he will less recoil from death when its summons shall come to him. Towards these, the genuine natural affection may be really felt, which often less effectually seeks to revivify an unknown saint of antiquity, or to idealize the scarcely better known Mother of the Christian's Lord. The real mother of the heart's mixed love and idolatry is she (to all whose infancy was so blest) at whose soft knee their infant hands were first clasped in prayer. And the real saints of our heart and hearth and life, are the virtuous parents, brothers, sisters, children, friends, whom God hath made immortal in their own state, and whose good influences may become immortal to us, while we may let all their frailties die.

The remains of the beloved departed were interred, on Thursday, May 3rd, in the General Cemetery near Birmingham, in a grave adjoining that of the Rev. John Kentish. The funeral service was conducted, with his usual soothing gentleness and sympathy, by her own and her husband's kind and valued friend, the Rev. William Bowen, of Kingswood; who, on the following Sunday, offered to her bereaved family and a large congregation of mourning friends, the religious consolations suggested by Psalm xxxi. 15, "My times are in thy hand." May such consolations be gratefully received; and may all who mourn her loss, prepare to meet her again by the exercise of that cheerful faith and holy aspiration and grateful obedience to the will of our Heavenly Father which marked her daily life!

"Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee though I die."
(In Memoriam.)

April 17, at Manchester, aged 75 years, Mrs. ESTHER SMITH, widow of the late Mr William Smith, of Warrington, and daughter of the late Mr. Alexander Eaton, of Chester.

May 1, aged 18, at the residence of her aunt, Mrs. Parker, Pendleton, near Manchester, SELINA TUCKER. She was the granddaughter of the late Rev. Abraham Bennett, who was for many years the Unitarian minister at Poole, Dorset.

Well-educated and intelligent, she had resolved to prepare herself for discharging the important duties of a schoolmistress among the working classes; and had it pleased her Heavenly Father to spare her life, she would doubtless, from her natural aptitude for imparting instruction and her excellent education, have proved an efficient instructress. She bore her illness of some months with Christian resignation, and finished her course on earth in the firm belief and unwavering hope of immortality, and that she was going to join her beloved parents in a happier and a better world. Her physical sufferings were alleviated and her last days cheered by the kind offices and unremitting attention of her aunt, Mrs. Parker, who hourly administered to her necessities, and who spoke to her in the last trying scene words of consolation and comfort.

May 11, at Hindley, near Wigan, ELLEN, the wife of Mr. Thomas GASKELL, yeoman, aged 63 years. Mrs. Gaskell in the earlier part of life took great interest in the education of the young, in the Sunday-school connected with the Presbyterian congregation. This fact proves that from her youth the bias of her mind was religious. Twenty-seven years have since passed in the conjugal relation, during which she has been no less solicitous for the prosperity of the school and congregation. She was an unostentatious professor of Unitarian Christianity. She possessed a sound understanding, knew in whom she believed, and why, and could give a reason of the hope that was in her. She loved the habitation of God's house, and the place where his honour dwelleth. She was a constant attendant on the means of grace, an attentive hearer of the word, a devout worshiper of the "one living and true God." With great order, regularity and neatness, she managed the affairs of her household and discharged her domestic duties. She had strong sympathies towards aged women and young children; the latter she collected around her in her own home, and felt her own happiness augmented by increasing theirs. To the former she was benevolent to an extent not generally known, and many who were not of her communion have said, "We have lost a friend." From the first attack of the illness which preceded her death, she appears to have had a presentiment that it would be fatal; she therefore with Christian calmness made certain arrangements for her own obsequies. The writer of these lines visited her, at her own request, during her illness, which lasted eleven days: he read to her certain portions of the Scriptures of both covenants; offered up prayer, in which she devoutly joined; and parted with the affectionate pressure of that hand, the pulse of which soon ceased to beat for ever. During her illness she was quiet, easy, calm, composed, submissive and resigned, and so continued to the last. I hope that it will not be considered an impertinent question or vain boast in me, to ask those who judge otherwise, "Is there nothing in our faith to support the mind in the solemn article of death?" On the Lord's-day after her funeral, an attempt to improve her death was made by the minister of the place, from Job xiv. 14, to a numerous and deeply attentive audience.

I. S. K.

MARRIAGES.

April 29, in the Unitarian chapel, High Street, Portsmouth, by Rev. H. Hawkes, Corporal WM. BOND, Royal Marine Artillery, formerly one of John Pounds's scholars, to MARIA L. JONES, one of the Sunday-school teachers.

May 2, at Newington-Green chapel, by Rev. T. L. Marshall, of Hackney, the Rev. JOHN CRAWFORD WOODS, B.A., minister-elect of the Unitarian congregation at Adelaide, South Australia, to SARAH, the widow of Augustus COOPER, Esq., M.R.C.S., of London.

May 16, at Kettering, by Rev. Thos. H. Madge, M.A., EDWARD, eldest son of J. S. NETTLEFOLD, Esq., Highgate, to FANNY, second daughter of W. S. WYMAN, Esq., of Kettering.